

FOUNDATIONS OF THE BLACK NATION

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PREFACE

FOUNDATIONS OF THE BLACK NATION

In 1517, 25 years almost to the day after Columbus arrived in the New World, Charles I of Spain authorized the exporting of 15,000 slaves from Africa to his Caribbean colony of San Domingo. Two years later the first African slave revolt in the New World occurred. That moment marked the beginning of the struggle of Africans in the Americas for land. This struggle has lasted 455 years, has seen some hard-won successes, and is not yet over.

It is a mistake, however, to believe (as We are taught in white controlled schools) that the degradation of Africa and the supremacy of whites over the rest of the world is therefore 455 years ancient. King Charles and the ruling families of Portugal, Holland, France, England, Sweden, and Denmark would build their forts along the Guinea Coast, but, for most of 300 years of trading and raiding, they would deal mainly with the country folk on the periphery of greater Africa and with the near-coast Kingdoms—although by the middle of the Nineteenth Century, by time of the American Civil War, raiding by Christians in the West and Arabs in the East, had penetrated the sacrosanct interior.

Yet at the moment King Charles called for the enslavement of 15,000 Africans, black physicians at the University of Sankore in Timbuktu—some 800 miles inland from the Coast—were still performing cataract operations on the eye and black Askias of Songhay were still ruling a rich and enlightened empire that stretched 2,000 miles across the Western Sudan.

One hundred years later when the first black slaves arrived in the Thirteen Colonies in 1619, Timbuktu had three decades earlier suffered its greatest devastation under the onslaught of Judar Pasha's mustket-equipped Spanish-renegade army, in the service of the Moroccan king. Her libraries were burned, her scholars executed and taken off into slavery. Nevertheless the University was attempting a revival of learning. As the first slaves landed in Virginia, the King of the Congo—a sophisticated and progressive man—had opened diplomatic relations with Portugal on a basis of equality and had sent his sons to Portugal to study. A few hundred miles closer to the Guinea Coast than Songhay, the Ashanti Kingdom had taken its distinguished rise, flourishing on gold and traditional trade, even while

farther South on the Guinea Coast the slave trade would soon reach devastating proportions, and nations such as old Dahomey and Benin would be debased and (temporarily) empowered by it.

When Thomas Jefferson became President of the United States in 1801, the United States was still paying tribute to the African states of Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli (the sum paid by the new nation had reached two million dollars), and the Moors had not long stopped raiding the coasts of England. In the interior the Bushongo Kingdom and many other small states still retained their independence, culture, and pacific way of life—and would do so for nearly three-quarters of a century more. Two decades after the Civil War, however, Stanley and Rhodes penetrated Central and Southern Africa, respectively, finally opening Bushongo and Kwazulu to European conquest. But in the west, north of the Gulf of Guinea, the Ashanti resolutely fought off British conquest until 1901, and in the African northeast Ethiopia would retain her independence right down to the eve of World War II, when, in 1935, Mussolini over-ran her. (This occupation lasted only six years.)

Thus, considering that Chinese resistance was not crushed until the end of the Boxer Rebellion in 1901, European world conquest lasted barely 50 years. The Chinese freed themselves of European domination in 1950, when the People's Republic drove the forces of the Kuomintang into the sea. And Ghana, under Kwame Nkrumah, ended European domination in 1957.

Meanwhile, in the New World, in contrast to Africa, the history of the transplanted African is a history of domination and degradation by whites for 455 years—and, at the same time, a history of African struggle *against* that domination and degradation and *for* land.

Thomas Jefferson was elected third President of the United States in 1800. Before his first term had expired Africans in the New World—in Haiti—had gone through 12 years of revolution, defeating the local whites, a Spanish invasion, a British expeditionary force, and scores of thousands of Napoleon's best troops, and won land and independence in 1803. That control over their land, that independence, though crassly violated by United States Marines and customs officials between 1905 and 1941, is theirs down to today.

Yet the Haitian success—if the most enduring—was by no means the first for African state building in the New World. The nearly 300-year history of slave revolt prior to the Haitian victory over Napoleon is replete with accounts of slaves who successfully fled to the jungles and hills—in Jamaica, in San Domingo, in Brazil—and set up and maintained their own independent communities. The Pal-

mares Republic in Brazil lasted 50 years. But the so-called Bush Negroes of Surinam (formerly Dutch Guyana) maintained their autonomy into the late 1930's—nearly 300 years.

In our own day Africans in the New World have achieved land and independence in Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, and Guyana (where it is shared with East Indians). Cuba also achieved land and independence in our day, and while Cuba is not strictly an African nation, having more white Spanish blood than African, Afro-Cubans played important roles in liberation and are contributing their share to nation-building.

In the United States, however, because of the racial possessiveness of the dominant whites and the religiously enforced pattern of military and civil policing of the slave, no attempt at state-building by the African has enjoyed even the relative longevity of the Palmares Republic. Prior to the Civil War free communities set up by escaped African slaves in Florida, in Georgia, and elsewhere in the United States were continuously sought out and ruthlessly destroyed. Immediately after the Civil War, the freed African in the United States had to concern himself with a struggle against rampant murder and starvation, a struggle merely to breathe and live, and he sought an alliance with Union whites of the North in order to win this necessary respite, this space to *consider* what his political course would be.

Among these whites, who nation-wide outnumbered him six to one and who for 250 years had shown a single-mindedness in dehumanizing and possessing him unparalleled in world history, the African moved with great caution. Even so, the drive for land and independence was pushed in two characteristic ways. On the one hand Tunis Campbell in 1865 boldly established an independent government among freed Africans on an island off the coast of Savannah. But this lasted less than a year before being broken by U.S. military force.

On the other hand—outgunned, outnumbered, and confronted by a Satan-like people who have had all the instrumentalities of well established state power in their hands and who, north and south, unhesitatingly presume at all times to think and speak *for* the African—the African in the United States has had recourse mainly to appeals and petitions. These were of two types: first, appeals for land and the vote, meaning land from which to raise subsistence and a vote to participate in the state power to which he was subject; and, second, for land to build an independent black state.

Whenever the whites thought of separate land for the blacks—as Abraham Lincoln did and as U.S. President Andrew Johnson, who

presided over the first four years of Reconstruction, did—it was seldom independent land. Liberia was too far to be feasible, when to be considered were nearly five million blacks. Most often Haiti, which was willing but too often troubled, and South America—which was largely unwilling—were the subjects of consideration. Where South America was concerned it was never thought by Lincoln or Johnson that an independent African state would be established but that the blacks would merely settle under existing flags.

Yet one must wonder what was in our minds, the minds of the Africans, just before the end of the Civil War, and in the minds of the white Union General William Tecumseh Sherman, when, after consultation between him and the Africans, the General talked of “self-determination” and settled our people on South Carolina’s Sea Islands and along the rivers for 30 miles under semi-autonomous black governments.

What was in our minds and the mind of General Ulysses Grant’s man John Eaton when a similar experiment was instituted around Davis Bend, Mississippi? Both experiments were vetoed by the Negro-hating President Andrew Johnson, and this veto, stripping the freedmen of the lands, was given the force of law by—of all things—the third Freedmen’s Bureau act. Because of this, “thousands of Negroes migrated to Florida during 1866-1867,” W. E. B. DuBois assures us in *Black Reconstruction*, and “2,500 migrated to Liberia.” It seems clear what was in their minds.

The mind of the ex-slave and Louisiana mass movement leader Henry Adams, testifying before the U.S. Senate in 1880 and explaining the petitions of 1874-1876 to the United States, is even clearer: “Well, in that petition We appealed there, if nothing could be done to stop the turmoil and strife, and give us our rights in the South, We appealed then, at that time, for a territory to be set apart for us to which We could go and take our families and live in peace and quiet.”

In this way the pattern of parliamentary appeal by Africans in the United States, for land and independence, as opposed to revolutionary warfare or the politics of majorities, has been set and more or less faithfully followed for over 90 years. Because oppressed people who have been de-culturized by their oppressor tend to seek the path of least resistance in their struggle against oppression—because, indeed, the African in America exists as a de-culturized minority in the midst of a land-possessive, racist, white majority who brook for us no ideal except assimilation (and who steadfastly make the realization of this ideal impossible)—it is difficult to gauge the actual appeal of the

concept of land and independence to the black masses. The appeal was probably strongest in the late 1870's in the South, when freedom from slavery had brought us broken promises and a living hell. It was probably weakest during and just after World War II when the hope fanned by Franklin Roosevelt and the integrationist philosophy and legal victories of the NAACP dominated our political vision. But the race in America has never been without those voices who have appealed for land and independence.

Given our context in the United States, the appeals would necessarily deploy in various garb. From 1889 until about 1907 Edward P. McCabe, a talented and distinguished black from Kansas, led a serious movement to have blacks populate those sections of Oklahoma territory which the United States had thrown open to settlement. The idea was to create a black state, within the U.S. federal union, and McCabe himself was promoted for the post of territorial governor by several prominent white U.S. Senators. Several thousand blacks went to Oklahoma under the McCabe movement, but never in sufficient numbers to out-populate the whites. Here, again, recalling the natural guardedness with which the African in America has had to dress his petitions for land and independence, one is permitted to wonder what future construction did the McCabe Movement foresee for the black state.

To be sure McCabe talked of Africans as "loyal Americans," but his language was the same as others then and now who seek repatriation to Africa or independent land here: "We desire to get away from the associations that cluster about us in the Southern states. We wish to remove any disgraceful surroundings that so degrade my people, and in the new territory in Oklahoma, show the people of the United States and of the world that We are not only loyal citizens but that We are capable of advancement. We are willing to abide by that decision, but in a new country, on new lands, with a climate suited to our race. We desire to show you that We are men and women capable of self-government."

In the 1930's some influential blacks, in the McCabe tradition, talked of Texas as a black "49th State," but never inspired the actual immigration that accompanied the McCabe movement.

The next most explicit, consistent petition for land-supported by a movement of people—arose from Elijah Muhammad in the 1960's with the publication of his newspaper, *Muhammad Speaks*, which week after week places the demand on the U.S. government for "a separate state or territory of [our] own—either on this continent or elsewhere."

In 1968, under influence of Elijah's disaffected and slain apostle El Hajj Malik El Shabazz (Malcolm X), the provisional Government of the Republic of New Africa came into being and again, like McCabe, particularized the petition for territory. The New Africans claim, by rights of heritage and reparations, five states of the Deep South: Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. In this area Africans are outnumbered two-to-one, but, significantly, in many counties—unlike the situation in Oklahoma—blacks *already* constitute a numerical majority. One set of these counties lies along the Mississippi River from Memphis to the Louisiana border and constitutes a contiguous territory containing more than 15,000 square miles—a territory, which We call the Kush District, almost twice as large as the state of Israel. It is here that the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Africa has opened its struggle for land and independence.

Although cast in the traditional pattern of appeal to the white-majority U.S. Government, the new Movement clearly accepts the likelihood of revolutionary warfare as a nearly inevitable element in the struggle. Thus, in an important respect, New Africa breaks with the post-Civil War pattern and re-establishes roots in the revolutionary past represented by those blacks who, just before the Civil War, joined with John Brown (a white) in the attempt to set up a New Africa in Appalachia, with those blacks who struggled through blood and pain in Florida and the South during slavery to establish free communities in the woods, by the blacks of Haiti, of Palmares—indeed, of the whole Caribbean and South American world—who slew the oppressor in order to seize land and power and get on with nation-building.

In two small books issued by me in 1968 and 1970—*War In America* and *Revolution And Nation-Building*—i detailed the theory to be applied by Africans in the United States in liberating a land mass for our national home. Today We are applying those theories in the Kush District of Mississippi.

The present book covers the period immediately following theory. It brings together letters and articles that have emerged during the first two years of the campaign in Kush as the Provisional Government seeks (1) to inform and organize the people on the land for a plebiscite and for revolutionary resistance, (2) to generate support among blacks throughout America for the struggle in Kush, (3) to engineer acceptance of black independence by the U.S. Government, and (4) to use attacks upon the RNA Provisional Government—such

as the FBI/police armed assault on and prosecution of the RNA-11—to accomplish the other three aims. Because of this, FOUNDATIONS represents a textbook in living political science.

IMARI ABUBAKARI OBADELE, I
Hinds County Jail
Jackson, Mississippi
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Part One

THEORY

THE STRUGGLE IS FOR LAND

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For three years now, as an officer of the Republic of New Africa, I have gone around America talking to captive African people here about the struggle for land. Had I been talking about the struggle of the Azanians to free South Africa from the racist whites who hold it and them, in subjugation, or had I been talking about the struggle of the Zimbabweans against the Rhodesians, or the brothers in Guinea or Mozambique against the Portuguese, I am sure no African in America would have had a difficult time understanding that each of these struggles is fundamentally a struggle for land. But I was not talking about these struggles.

I was talking about the struggle of African people in the United States. And I was talking about this struggle in the only context in which it can be a meaningful struggle — that is to say, a struggle that results in freedom, pride, power, and a good life for all our people. I was talking about this struggle in the context of land. Our struggle — no less than that of the Azanians, the Zimbabweans, the Guineans — is a struggle for land.

It is not that Africans in America who struggle for such amorphous things as our "rights" in America or "freedom," (where neither of these is connected to and) are perpetuating a fraud upon themselves and others. It is that their analysis of what is fundamen-

tally wrong with American society misses the mark (what is wrong is that American society suffers from entrenched racism) or, upon a correct analysis, they have failed to reason through to the most feasible and logical solution: depart from American society.

Worse, the white nationalism which all people in America constantly imbibe has left many otherwise fine African minds among us functionally unable to think of land — independent land, carved out of any part of what whites now call the United States — as a real part of our struggle for that wonderful but amorphous and elusive state called FREEDOM. Land for Zimbabweans, for Anzanians, for Guineans, for all the Africans in Africa — yes! But land for Africans in America? You can't be serious!

Well, we are serious. And where esterday Africans in America hearing me and the other New Africans talk of land, might have, with some slight justification, considered the talk a mere academic curiosity, today — with the first African capitol in the northern Western Hemisphere since Columbus, consecrated El Malik and a building in Hinds County, Mississippi — talk of land for Africans in America is a function of a real exercise in political science. If there were doubt before that fateful consecration Sunday, March 28, 1971, there is no doubt now in the minds of Mississippi's verbose and uptight Attorney General A. F. Summer and most of the million other white folks in that state. And there ought not to be any doubt in your mind, fellow African in America: the struggle for land is, indeed and very much, on!

What is more, the struggle can be successful. A great deal, however, depends upon how fast and how completely Africans in America can un-track their minds from the inability to think about land, independent land, as not only an integral part of our struggle for freedom but as an essential primary goal. For success of the struggle depends a great deal upon the support which those of us who now opt for and are working to build an independent African nation on this soil, get from those of us who do not now choose for themselves the route of an independent nation. (We calculate that those who do not now opt for independence may number as many as two-fifths of our people.) And the support of these people must be founded upon understanding of what the New Africans are about.

Perhaps the best way for people to un-track their minds from the slaving inability to think of land as a real and legitimate goal of our struggle is to understand how a people acquires claim to land. There is, of course, what we call the bandit rule of international law: this

says, essentially, that if a people steals land and occupies it for a long time, the world will recognize that land as belonging to them. This, of course, is the manner in which the United States acquired claim to most of America: white folks simply stole it and held it. As a people, We Africans in America have been cowed by this rule; We have cringed before it (and before the power of the beast) as if it were the only rule of land possession.

There is, fortunately, a civilized rule of land possession. It says that if a people has lived on a land traditionally, if they have worked and developed it, and if they have fought to stay there, that land is theirs. It is upon this rule of international law that Africans in America rest their claim for land — in America.

We have lived for over 300 years in the so-called Black Belt, we have worked and developed the land, and we have fought to stay there — against night riders and day courts, against cultural genocide and economic privation, against bad crops, and no crops, against terror and ignorance and the urgings of relatives to come North. In the Black Belt, running through the Five States that the Republic claims as the National Territory of the Black Nation (Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina) We have met all the criteria for land possession required of us by international practice, international law. We have, incidentally, met these tests too in cities of the North like Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore (though our precise locations in these cities have shifted through the years).

What the Republic of New Africa says, however, is that we give up our claim to these cities as *national* territory (that does not mean that all Africans have to move from them) in exchange for the five states of the Deep South. In the Five States, we are outnumbered almost two to one, though once we were an absolute numerical majority, because of the persistent genocide practiced against us for 100 post-slavery years. But we remain over half the population in Mississippi and a third in Louisiana, Alabama and South Carolina, and many Black Belt counties are overwhelmingly African.

The land mass in the Five States is nearly a quarter-million square miles. There are ports on the Atlantic (Georgia and South Carolina) and on the Gulf of Mexico and wondrously beautiful beaches there. There are riches in the ground that are untapped and marvelous things in the sea, besides the abundant and abused petroleum.

The problem with international law is that there is nobody to enforce it — except the powerful. Powerful nations enforce inter-

national law only when it suits them — or when they are forced to. The essential strategy of our struggle for land is to array enough power (as in jui-jitsu, with a concentration of karate strength at key moments) to *force* the greatest power, the United States, to abide by international law, to recognize and accept our claims to independence and land.

The purpose of this strategy can be further simplified: it is to create a situation for the United States where it becomes cheaper to relinquish control of the Five States than to continue a war against us to take back or hold the area.

How do We accomplish such a thing?

The implementing tactics are various, but they revolve around a set of supporting strategies first laid out by me in the short book *War in America* and further illuminated in another small book called *Revolution and Nation-Building*. Chief among these strategies is the *limited objective*, an essential element in preparing before the war for a peace settlement that is an African victory. What We are saying here, in terms of the *limited objective*, is that instead of insisting on the overthrow or destruction of the United States, We say, like Castro's Cuba before us, if We can achieve freedom and independence with the United States still in existence, We will do so. (As step one.)

We are saying that our objective is not to overthrow the United States but to create our own nation. More We are saying not fifty states, or twenty-five states, or even ten states — though by a rule of independence for unjust enrichment We are entitled to all the wealth of the American nation. We are saying five states, taken together, the poorest states in the nation, the states with the most black people in them, a mere one-tenth of the states in the Union (and *they* say We are one-tenth of the people), the area which the white American — with some 170 million of his number living *outside* of the area — is most likely to give up when he is forced to the point where giving up *something* will be a necessity.

The development of foreign support, inside and outside of the United Nations, is another of the vital supporting strategies. The tradition reflected in Nkrumah's aiding Patrice Lumumba (in that they sought to align a number of small powers with the Congo) is founded in a sound dictum of political science: a small nation protects itself against a large nation by aligning itself with another large nation or with a group of nations. Thus, the Thirteen Colonies withstood the might of Great Britain because their alliance with France brought French (and Spanish) pressure to bear against

England on the high seas and in Europe. The Egyptians in 1956 turned back a French and British backed Israeli invasion because of an alliance with the Soviet Union. Again, unlike the Dominicans after them, who had no counter-balancing foreign alliance and support and went down to an American invasion in 1965, the Cubans withstood several years of American military aggression (carried out by U.S. trained puppets). Finally, in the missile crisis, because of their alliance with another great power (the Soviet Union) Cuba achieved a de facto negotiated settlement with the great power, the United States, which threatened her.

Thus, the Republic seeks actively the support of the African and Asian peoples of the world. We are not afraid to say quite openly that we seek the friendship and support of the People's Republic of China, the only nation of color in the world who presently boasts nuclear power. For all these people (as well as for ourselves) it is essential that all our political positions with respect to our struggle be correct. We must be clear-headed and clear-spoken about what We want and why — are entitled to it.

"Freedom" cannot be amorphous and misty — it must be for land and sovereignty otherwise foreign powers have no right to speak in our behalf, let alone provide other support. For, unless the struggle is for land and sovereignty, it is a domestic matter between citizens of a nation who are treated right and those who are treated wrong, and it is to be settled as a domestic matter by them. (And We have suffered the tragic results of such a "settlement" process between us "first-class" and "second-class" citizens for over 100 years.) Therefore, our claim to land cannot be vacuous — it must be — and is, supported by well-accepted principles of international law.

Therefore, We cannot stand before the world unsure of whether or not We are "American citizens." No person in America, descendant of African slaves, is an American citizen (unless he is naturalized West Indian or South American). Black "nationalists" must come out of that delicious no-man's-land where one has his cake and eats it too, where one is not an "American citizen" when it is popular not to be (i.e., in a black nationalist rap session) but is one when it is convenient to be — or when We set our goals in the "struggle for freedom."

We are not American citizens for two simple reasons. First, of course, American law as interpreted by the Supreme Court down to 1968 and followed by Congress has never protected the African in America against the racially motivated oppressions and deprivations by individual white citizens. (Under the Fourteenth Amendment

only the States, and not individuals, were enjoined from abridging the rights and freedoms of the Africans.)

Second, and more importantly, the Fourteenth Amendment, in an attempt to bestow citizenship upon the African, newly freed from slavery, incorporated the rule of *jus solis* “all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside.” A sound principle of international law, the rule of *jus soli* was obviously intended to provide American citizenship for persons born in the United States through what might be termed “acceptable accidents” of birth. Thus, a person born in the U.S. as a result of his parents’ having come to this country voluntarily — through emigration and settlement or vacation travel or business — could not be denied citizenship in the country of his birth. He might have dual citizenship, gaining also the citizenship of his parents, but he could not be left with NO citizenship. His birth in the U.S. under such conditions would meet the test of an “acceptable accident.”

By contrast, however, the presence of the African in America could by no stretch of justice be deemed “an acceptable accident” of birth. The African, whose freedom was now acknowledged by his former slavemasters through the Thirteenth Amendment, was not on this soil because he or his parents had come here of their own free will; neither he nor his parents had come vacationing or seeking some business advantage. Rather the African — standing forth now as a free man because the Thirteenth Amendment forbade whites (who had the power, not the right), to continue slavery — was on American soil as a result of having been kidnapped and brought here AGAINST his will.

What the rule of *jus soli* demanded at this point — at the point of the passage of the slavery-halting Thirteenth Amendment — was that America not deny to this African, born on American soil, American citizenship — IF THE AFRICAN WANTED IT. This last condition is crucial: the African, his freedom now acknowledged by persons who theretofore had wrongfully and illegally (under international law) held him in slavery by force, was entitled, as a free man to decide for himself what he wanted to do — whether he wished to be an American citizen or follow some other course.

The rule of *jus soli*, in protecting the kidnapped African from being left without any citizenship, could operate so far as to impose upon America the obligation to offer the African (born on American soil) American citizenship; it could not impose upon the African — a victim of kidnapping and wrongful transportation — an obligation to

accept such citizenship. Such an imposition would affront justice, by conspiring with the kidnappers and illegal transporters, and wipe out the free man's newly acquired freedom.

Thus, the Fourteenth Amendment is incorrectly read when its Section One is deemed to be a *grant* of citizenship: it can only be an offer. The positive tone of the language can only emphasize the intention of the ratifiers to make a sincere offer. On the other hand, the United States government, under obligation to make the offer, also had the power to create the mechanism — a plebiscite — whereby the African could make an informed decision, an informed acceptance or rejection of the offer of American citizenship. Indeed, Section Five of the Fourteenth Amendment makes clear that Congress could pass whatever law was necessary to make real the offer of Section One. (Section Five says: The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.)

The first “appropriate legislation” required at that moment — and still required — was that which would make possible for the now-free African an informed, free choice, an informed acceptance or rejection of the citizenship offer.

Let us recall that, following the Thirteenth Amendment, four natural options were the basic right of the African. First, he did, of course, have a right, if he wished it, to be an American citizen. Second, he had a right to return to Africa or go to another country — if he could arrange his acceptance. Finally, he had a right (based on a claim to land superior to the European's, subordinate to the Indian's) to set up an independent nation of his own.

Towering above all the other juridical requirements that faced the African in America and the American following the Thirteenth Amendment was the requirement to make real the opportunity for choice, for self-determination. How was such an opportunity to evolve? Obviously the African was entitled to full and accurate information as to his status and the principles of international law appropriate to his situation. This was all the more important because the African had been victim of a long-term, intense slavery policy aimed at assuring his illiteracy, dehumanizing him as a group, and de-personalizing him as an individual.

The education offered him after the Thirteenth Amendment confirmed the policy of dehumanization. It was continued in American educational institutions, despite Rogers and Woodson and DuBois, for 100 years, through 1965 and the successful textbook victory out of Detroit. Now, again following the Thirteenth Amendment, the education of the African in America seeks to base African self-esteem

on how well the African assimilates white American folkways and values — a hardly more palatable de-personalization than that which occurred during slavery.

Worse, the advice given the African concerning his rights under international law suggested that there was no option open to him other than American citizenship. For the most part, he was co-opted into spending his political energies in organizing and participating in constitutional conventions and then voting for the legislatures which subsequently approved the Fourteenth Amendment. (Not *all* of the African's political energies were spent in this way. The pull of nationalism was strong even at that moment, and this is an important still-to-be-told story.) In such circumstances, the presentation of the Fourteenth Amendment to state legislatures for whose members the African had voted, and the Amendment's subsequent approval by these legislatures, could in no sense be considered a plebiscite.

The fundamental requirements were lacking: first, adequate and accurate information; for, the advice given the freedman was so bad it amounts to fraud, a second stealing of our birthright; second, a chance to choose among the four options: (1) U.S. citizenship, (2) return to Africa, (3) emigration to another country, and (4) the creation of a new African nation on American soil.

The fact that today the Republic of New Africa exists means, among other things, that a large body of Africans in America now has accurate information as to our status and our rights under international law. It means that We as a people have the potential for providing ourselves with accurate and adequate information.

On the other hand, the United States government still has the obligation under Section Five of the Fourteenth Amendment to "enforce" Section One (the offer of citizenship) in the only way it could be rightfully "enforced" — by authorizing U.S. participation in a plebiscite, by, in other words, a reference to our own will, our self-determined acceptance or rejection of the offer of citizenship.

There are important ramifications. Adequate and accurate information being fundamental to an informed decision, it is incumbent upon the United States, which heretofore used its great resources to misinform Africans in America about our status, options, and rights under international law, to make available to the Republic (and to those representing the other neglected options, emigration to Africa or some other place) the airways and other media for dissemination of information. The terms must be worked out on a mutual basis, the objective being to remove the severe technical handicap which U.S. power (flowing out of a white racist theft of and subsequent

monopoly of wealth) imposes on those competing for the attention of the African mind in an atmosphere essentially controlled by white American nationalists.

There are further important ramifications. A genuine plebiscite implies that if people vote against U.S. citizenship, the means must be provided to facilitate whatever decision they do make. Thus, persons who vote to return to Africa or to emigrate elsewhere must have the means to do so.

Those of us who feel this is just another way of begging for hand-outs from the powerful white United States government must remember our origins. We are the descendants of Africans wrongfully kidnapped and brought here by whites with the explicit complicity of the U.S. government and every arm of the United States law-making and law-enforcing machinery. The kidnapping was a wrongful act for which our ancestors and We as their heirs are entitled to damages. The stealing of our labor was a wrongful act, as was the cultural genocide We suffered. We are entitled to damages — to reparations. The compensations We speak of are owed to us.

All the more is this true when one remembers that the Yankee fortunes which, during and after the Civil War, went into railroads, oil and the other fundamentals of the industrial revolution, were based originally on commercial wealth earned in the Tri-Cornered Trade: Yankee bottoms from New England calling on the Guinea Coast for slaves; trading the slaves in the West Indies and the South; bringing North, in their price, tobacco, sugar, rice, molasses and finally cotton for processing in the North and in England. Resting two-thirds on slavery and slave labor, the wealth of the U.S. was a stolen wealth, its present manifestation the result of unjust enrichment. No law — and explicitly not U.S. law — sanctions the taking of property from one man (our labor, our liberty, our right to those important tools of competition: health, education, self-esteem and sanity) and the giving of this property to another man. As Attorney Daisy Collins argues so well: as a people and individually We have been deprived of property without due process of law.

We have seen, in World War I, Germany and other European countries assessed reparations and made to pay them to France and other countries for physical damage AND for the act of launching an “unjust” war. Again after World War II We saw this phenomenon routinely observed in Europe. We saw, further, the West German government give the new state of Israel 800 million dollars in reparations for crimes committed against Jews in Europe by another German government. To boot, the Israeli government which received

the reparations was not even in existence when the crimes against the Jews were committed! Reparations is a well established phenomenon of international relations, with an ancient history far predating World War I. We are entitled to reparations from the Americans even more than France was from Germany or the Jews from the post-Hitler German government.

Now, then, We repeat: an obvious and important ramification of the plebiscite is that there must exist the capability of putting its decisions into effect. If the decision is for U.S. citizenship, then that citizenship must be unconditional. If it is for emigration to a country, outside of Africa, those persons making this choice must have transportation resources and reparations in terms of other benefits, principally money, to make such immigration possible and give it a reasonable chance of success. If the decision is for a return to some country in Africa, the person must have those same reparations as persons emigrating to countries outside of Africa — PLUS those additional reparations necessary to restore enough of the African personality for the individual to have a reasonable chance of success in integrating into African society in the motherland.

If, finally, the decision is for an independent new African nation on this soil, then the reparations must be those agreed upon between the United States government and the new African government. Reparations must be at least sufficient to assure the new nation a reasonable chance of solving the great problems of want and resource-poverty imposed upon us by the Americans in our status as a colonized people.

We were enumerating the supporting strategies for liberation of the New African land-mass. We spoke of Foreign Alliances and Support. A third vital supporting strategy, already alluded to, is the winning of Internal Domestic Support, the winning of the understanding and support of those Africans in America who do not chose for themselves to come to New Africa.

Such Africans must understand — and fight for — the international law arguments that We have just laid out: reparations as a right; the free and informed selection of our future courses, as a right; our right to the land. Such Africans must join New Africans in insisting upon U.S. participation in a genuine plebiscite — a plebiscite wherein the means to effectuate its results are conceded — as a logical matching of the First and Fifth Sections of the Fourteenth Amendment.

This, too, must be understood about the plebiscite. Traditionally a plebiscite is held to decide the nationality of an entire population. Thus, the U.N. plebiscite for Kashmir sought to decide whether the entire population of this principality on the Indian sub-continent should become Indian or Pakistani. The Hitler-managed Austrian plebiscite decided whether the entire Austrian population would unite with Germany. The African plebiscite in America must be somewhat different. We are guaranteed by international law (the rule of *jus soli*) citizenship in America, if We want it, and this rule has been incorporated into the Fourteenth Amendment; therefore, those Africans who accept United States citizenship are entitled to remain where they are (and they are entitled also to unconditional U.S. citizenship), and this entitlement must be encompassed in the plebiscite.

On the other hand, those Africans voting in the plebiscite for the New African nation must be understood to be speaking for themselves as a group and ONLY for themselves — even were the New Africans to carry 51% of the total vote or even 91%. In either case, the 49% of the nine percent who vote to be U.S. citizens or for a course other than New Africa, would have the right, for themselves, to follow those courses.

What, then, of the land? What land would be the land of the nation? We have already said that the land of the nation is that land which today is called Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Alabama and Georgia. Today in this land — because of 100 years of intense genocide — We Africans are outnumbered by whites by almost two to one (some 12 million of them, some seven million of us). But We have also said that this land belongs to us as part of the reparations settlement, incorporating the notion that We give up national claim to the land of the black ghettos of the North, to which We have nearly as good a claim as to the land of the Black Belt, in exchange for the full five states.

In Mississippi, however, and in all the Black Belt counties where We are over 51% of the population, We expect New Africa to win virtually 100% of the African plebiscite vote. This would give New Africa clear claim to the land where our people already are. It would solve immediately in Mississippi and all of the Black Belt — the question of land and open the door to a similar national acquisition of the rest of the Five States through immigration of New Africans from all over the United States.

But are We naive enough to believe, in this violent, racist United States, that John Conyers and the other African U.S. Congressmen

who have undertaken to help us, will be successful in achieving laws which effect a peaceful plebiscite and the peaceful ceding of the land to New Africa? In time of (relative) peace, We must prepare for war. An important supporting strategy is the development of Inherent Military Viability: the creation of an over-ground army, properly motivated, properly equipped, and able to meet and succeed at the kind of combat which may be forced upon us.

And what kind of combat is that? We have taken and are taking steps to eliminate the use of the regular military establishment against us. By publicly stating our case and its justification under international law, by publicly proclaiming our intention to achieve our aims — the liberation of the nation and sovereignty over our land mass — by peaceful means, the peaceful plebiscite, and by conducting ourselves in a fashion that reinforces our peaceful professions (and that also brings us the support of nations abroad and non-New Africans at home) We remove from the United States the pretext for military action. (Conversely, by contrast, Black Panther pronouncements and actions CREATE pretexts for U.S. military action, by the police, by being easily read as open military attacks upon the U.S. government and its sub-divisions.) The support of nations abroad and Africans at home means that any overt U.S. military attack upon us could result in sanctions of all sorts from these parties against a guilty United States.

But this does not mean We are to be free of warfare with the United States' regular military establishment. We well remember the plans that were afoot during Kennedy's time to quietly invade China and destroy her nuclear facilities — with no declaration of war, no intention to acknowledge the deed as an act of the U.S. military. This teaches us that where the United States can secretly strike and get away with it, she will do so. Thus, our guard has to be up constantly against a pre-emptive military attack by regular U.S. military forces.

Then there is also the prospect of action by the Mississippi State National Guard or elements of the state police forces. As I write this, Mississippi's Attorney General A. F. B. ... has written to the U.S. Attorney General interpreting our presence in Mississippi as an "invasion" and an "armed insurrection." He has asked what the United States plans to do about it and has gone on to assure the U.S. Attorney General that Mississippi is quite willing and able to crush said invasion and rebellion, in behalf of the United States, if the United States does not act. This opens before us the possibility that state forces might at any moment be used against us.

(The reason for this turn of events is that on Sunday, March 28, the Republic of New Africa consecrated land in Hinds County, Mississippi, as the capital of the Republic. In all of our pronouncements We had made clear that until the plebiscite the capital would be operated much like the land of any business corporation in the state: We might fence it and have armed guards, but the whole was to remain subject to Mississippi and U.S. law. However, the white press of Mississippi and the Attorney General have taken a different view: We have, in their view, declared independence for the land. For our part, as of the moment, We have let it stand that way.)

Our biggest threat comes from the white civilian armies, the Ku Klux Klan and those other semi-official forces who for one hundred years have done the dirty work of military oppression in the South. These forces We must be prepared to successfully engage and defeat at all times.

Some of us envision the possibility — indeed the likelihood — that an engagement between us and state police agencies might escalate, at a given moment, into a general and sustained conflagration covering most of the area where New Africa has strength. It seems likely that die-hard whites, impervious to the rightness of our cause and determined to deny New Africa sovereignty over the land, would create situations leading to a general and sustained fight. Our policy, of course, is to delay, or if possible, avoid such a turn of events. But the simple, ineluctable truth is that, if We are to be free through sovereignty, We will ultimately have to fight.

How long a war? Who can say? Our strategy aims at a negotiated settlement; it leaves doors open for the United States for a saving of face: We do, after all, lay claim to the poorest states in the union; it is five states not fifty or twenty-five or even ten, and most white people (some 170 million) live *outside* of the area. These are reasons why the United States could reach a settlement with us. Fundamentally, too, it is important to remember that ALL white people believe they are smarter than We are: this is what the game is all about; when the white man ceases to feel that he is smarter, as a group, than We are, as a group, he ceases to be a white man. And, since he is smarter than We, it follows that he does not need to engage in lengthy warfare on American soil, where he has a great deal more to lose than We, in order to maintain control over us. Being smarter than We, he has the “simple” task of turning the new nation into a neo-colonialist sink.

But — before the American reaches the point where this alternative becomes a consideration (where he chooses a neo-colonialist

adventure over war) — he must become convinced not only that We want sovereignty enough to die for it but that he has more to lose from a sustained fight with us than by attempting a neo-colonialist re-enslavement.

If We do not know, for sure, how long our combat will last, our only alternative is to prepare for indefinite combat. In the three years since the founding of the Republic We have worked at building an over-ground army. We have had our difficulties — arising not so much from what the enemy has done, as from our own refusal as a people to adapt our “revolutionary” thinking to the realities of our situation in America, our refusal to believe — in the midst of a country whose laws make it possible for whites to build armies — that We too can build an army and use the same method: organization along “rifle club” lines wherein members learn simple military arts like first aid, communications, the handling of long-arms and short-arms, survival, physical fitness, map reading, and so on, none of it in violation of U.S. law.

We have, nevertheless, tortuously laid the foundations of an army, and units train in every city (more than two dozen) where the Republic is formally organized. This over-ground army, the Republic’s New African Security Force (in which all citizens are technically members), is that force which will — and has — met the enemy on the land. They will be the ones who will first meet and fight, as frontline operatives, any sustained combat forced upon us.

The over-ground army, however, must be supported by a ready people, if victory is to be ours (as it must). Thus, before the plebiscite, African people on the land must understand three things in the very marrow of our bones. First, that there is no feasible way to end poverty and oppression except through land and power, through sovereignty, through an independent new African nation; second, that We are not American citizens and We have, under international law, the right, albeit one hundred years unrecognized, to choose for ourselves our future course(s), and, finally, that the land of the five states is ours.

Once this is apprehended and is part of our lives, particularly the knowledge that under international law the land is ours, the conditions for people’s war will have been laid. For, given this understanding, We will no longer view ourselves as unwanted guests in someone else’s house, as We tend to do now. We will then view ourselves as masters of the house. No one will be able to order us from the house or around the house — even if, for instance, that *someone* is the U.S. Army out of Fort Polk situated in Louisiana on the U.S. Air Base

situated at Biloxi, Mississippi (both in our national territory). Once we understand that the land is ours, the American then becomes the invader; his attacks on us become an effort to take back the land, and these efforts are to be resisted by those means which people have always used to resist invaders of their homeland.

First, of course, the people support, protect, care for, and conceal their own regular army, our over-ground army. On the other hand they harass and deprive the enemy. The enemy, required for obvious reasons, to use an all-white army, moving through a land of blacks, will find not one grain of corn to eat, not one drop of water that is not poisoned, not one ounce of gasoline that is usable, not one bridge left standing, not one night that rest finds easy. He will be victimized by cold, hunger, dampness, loneliness, and beset by an army fighting for its homeland, using the finest techniques of guerilla warfare.

The warfare on the land, however, is almost in the nature of a holding action. The warfare which will bring the United States, finally, to the negotiating table will be warfare arising almost spontaneously, mainly outside the national territory, mainly in the big cities of the North where the industrial might of the United States is concentrated. Unlike the Vietnamese who have forced an American retreat from their homeland without ever being able to land a single bomb on a single American city, the African in America, resident in over 120 cities, is in an enviable position for bringing devastation to the American industrial heartland.

With the fiery power which made acres of Detroit and Watts look like Stalingrad after the Nazi defeat, the urban African guerrilla can be, gratuitously, for the Republic of New Africa, the same kind of missile power, the same kind of SECOND-STRIKE capability, with which the United States and Russia hold one another at bay today. The U.S. and Russia count their missiles aloud, each says to the other: if you strike me first, I will have enough left to deal you an unacceptable blow.

Thus, the African guerrilla in the urban North — whom we in the Republic neither control nor direct nor are any more certain than any of you that he even exists — has the potential for saying to the United States that if you strike the Republic of New Africa, We will deal you an unacceptable blow.

In these things, then — in the Second-Strike capability, in our Inherent Military Viability, in Foreign Support, in Internal Domestic Support, and in a Limited Objective — lies the system of supporting

strategies which will bring to New Africa the freedom and independence We need to build for Africans in America a new and better life, to open for us all the door to a better condition than man has yet known.

But this article would be nearly bootless, at this juncture in our history, if i did not as President of the Republic during this revolutionary phase, lay out for you those ways in which all Africans in America can — and, We feel, must — share in the liberation of the land mass, New Africa. It is important to understand that at the present time we consider all Africans in America (including the Virgin Island) to be citizens of the Republic unless and until they explicitly say they are not or act in a way that is tantamount to a renunciation of New African citizenship.

It follows, of course, that all good citizens are expected to pay taxes and serve in the army. All citizens must have basic military training. Our Defense Minister, Brother Alajo Adegbalola, is carrying out a policy of protecting the Revolution by working to give the people correct arms and correct ideology. There are, however, citizens who serve directly and primarily in the Defense Ministry and the New African Security Forces. Wherever Africans are in America it is important to form five-man units and choose your leader. Write to Brother Alajo — or, better, contact in person the nearest New African Consulate. However, it is not necessary for you to wait for Brother Alajo or some other officer to visit you before you start training.

Training revolves, first, around correct ideology. This means studying the Basic Documents of the Republic (the Declaration of Independence, the Creed, the Code of Umoja, the Short History), available in book form. Then the unit must train in field medicine, communications, map reading, physical fitness, survival, escape and evasion, demolition theory — subjects which any attentive ex-GI can teach. Brother Alajo will send some data, but i must stress, it is not necessary to wait until you hear from us.

The units should train now, everywhere, and equip themselves with radios, medical kits, field packs, tent, and arms: 30.06 rifles (preferably the M-1 Garand), the 12-gauge shotgun, and/or the M-1 carbine, and plenty of ammunition. (The AR-180 is quite acceptable, but somewhat expensive.) Units should prepare themselves and then make themselves available to us for tours of duty on the land and for the general, sustained combat when it is forced upon us. Units may have men and women, or men or women. Time for talk is long since past. The real nationalist will get down to this work, understanding

that the armed phase of our struggle is unfolding differently than that in Guinea, Laos, or anywhere else (We have been in the armed phase for years), appreciating that we have the advantage of a very literate people, many of whom already have been trained in the deadly arts of conventional and guerrilla warfare in the beast's military.

Now, there are brothers and sisters who see themselves operating as part of the Second-Strike capability, the underground army. As an officer of the government i could not, without courting a number of unnecessary legal complications, suggest that anyone follow this course or give advice in any way. Indeed, i am assured by some very knowledgeable people that no black underground army exists in America anyway. I suppose we could never be sure.

After all, a true underground army is secret. Its units are composed of as few people as two, occasionally more. Everyone who has seen the hundreds of World War II movies or read *The Spook Who Sat By The Door* or *The Black Commandoes* knows that underground army people come in all forms: they are bank clerks and street cleaners and college professors and housewives and filling station attendants and doctors and ministers and little old ladies and all sorts of unlikely people. Above all, they all know their lives depend on REAL secrecy. They are studious and meticulous: they learn methods of combining chemicals with ordinary materials and simple time-delay devices to cause super-fires. They rip off and accumulate their ingredients and build and store their ordnance with great care. They pick their targets with a sense of strategic propriety: no more the corner cleaners but the factory next time. And they plan out the total destruction of those targets. They move, too, with a sense of strategic timing: not out of anger but to support the political and military requirements of their nation.

What every African in America can do, particularly those who feel they cannot serve actively in the military, is to provide the funds the Revolution requires. Perhaps i seem to over-emphasize the military, thereby, for some, casting in doubt the seriousness of our pledge to seek a peaceful solution. It is just that our military needs, as a matter of reality, are hard upon us while most of us, looking for our armed struggle to evolve like that in Guinea or Laos, are unaware that it has long since begun and that its characteristics from beginning to end may bear little resemblance to the characteristics of armed struggle elsewhere.

So you must think on this: in a situation where we do not yet grow enough of our own food, one army unit of five men requires

two dollars per day per man for food; that is \$10 per day per unit, or \$70 per week. If the ammunition and material requirements per day can be met at a dollar per day per man, that is another \$35 per week. In short, to maintain one five-man combat unit in the national territory for one week requires \$105. Could you (or your club or your local professional or business association) maintain one such unit every week?

You think not? It is interesting to me the number of us who ten years ago believed that only doctors made \$300 to \$500 per week but who today are earning that much ourselves. (I am not: no officer of the Republic receives any salary, though as a technical editor i once earned nearly that much.) The amazing part is that most of us earning those amounts and more *still* seem to have nothing left to give to the Movement (or to anyone else). Let's face it, this situation is not only the result of succumbing to American folkways and bad management, it is plain parasitism. It is an absolute lack of group responsibility. Most of us making such money feel like whites, that We are doing so because of our personal genius, hard work, and pleasant personality. The truth is the elevation of the black middle-class financially was bought by the labor, suffering, and sacrifices of Fannie Lou Hamer, Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, and a horde of black molotov cocktail throwers and picket-line walkers all over black America — most of whom in no way enjoy (or enjoyed) the material benefits flowing from their efforts. Those benefits are enjoyed by you.

Now comes the struggle for land, a struggle certain to benefit all of us, even those who stay behind in America. To win this struggle there are those of us who may seem to have relatively little — who have given that up; there are those of us who seem to have much — who have given that up. But there are too many of us who have given up nothing. When do ALL of us pay our dues? i suggest it is now. It is now or it will be never. I think that a family earning \$500 a week should rearrange its budget so that \$100 per week — no: \$105 per week, the maintenance cost of one military unit in the field — should be sent to the national government. Families earning proportionately less might send proportionately less. But the tax which every African should pay our Government — sending it in voluntarily every week or every two weeks — is three percent of net income: three dollars for every \$100 of net income.

Would this be a sacrifice: more an inconvenience, probably. But the revolution can no longer be run off our pocket-change or "extra" money. It must come from us sacrificially. I am asking, and asking in

this forum, as a freedom fighter who has spent virtually all of my 40 years in the struggle, and as a representative of freedom fighters, and — *more importantly* — as the President of the only nation (politically speaking) that Africans in America have. You may no longer claim ignorance of our need or an absence of an appeal.

Finally, for those of you who would like to give money in circumstances not earmarked directly for defense, the Republic has created a non-profit corporation called “The Society for the Development of New Communities” in order to receive money from Africans in the form of gifts, for building the new communities which we are undertaking at El Malik in Mississippi and (soon) elsewhere in the national territory.

Each community can be built on a vacant field for \$10 million providing for 500 families, modern infra-structure in terms of schools, shopping center, communications center, nursery, factory, farm equipment, housing, and (very important) a pre-fab housing factory. This factory, like everything else in the community, is owned by the community; housing belongs to the family without mortgage or rent.

Brother Joseph Brooks, the Republic’s Minister of Economic Planning and Development, will write more on this and the whole exciting economic concept of New African UJAMAA. In brief, however, the initial sum of \$10,000,000 needed for each New Community, should come from reparations from the U.S. and state governments. Ultimately we shall get the reparations. Immediately, however, these funds must come from us. You are invited to become a member of “The Society for Development of New Communities.” It is not required that you become a “citizen of record” of the Republic. All that is necessary is that you, as an African, give a gift of \$5.00 or more to the Society.

Minister of Finance, Brother Rachi Malik Hekima and his ministry, have a saying: There Is A Role For You. They realize that that saying is somewhat inadequate: there is more than one role for you. In any case i have attempted in these last lines to describe some of the roles. We will conquer, without a doubt, if you now, O’ African Nationalist, seize hold upon those roles that are for you and conscientiously, immediately carry them out.

FREE THE LAND!

THE TALK OF VIOLENCE OBSCURES OUR PROGRAM FOR INDEPENDENCE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Brother Imari Writes from Parchman Prison

Eleven of us—including the President of the Republic, the first Vice-President, and the National Minister of Information, three women and one of the women four-months pregnant—are here in Mississippi's infamous Parchman Prison charged with murder. We are held in Maximum Security, which means, for the men, that we stay locked by twos in cells measuring 5 by 8 by 8, day in and day out, except for a ten-minute shower twice a week. The women wear prison dress, but the men are deprived of all clothes and shoes except for ill-fitting prison underwear and shower sandals. The underwear is changed only on Tuesday and Friday.

As many know, We are here because of an enemy's plot that failed. Virtually all of us are familiar with the basic format: in the city a policeman stops a brother, beats him up, and the next day, the policeman hauls the brother into court and charges the brother with assault and resisting arrest. It is all too familiar a pattern. The plot executed against us, of course, is more nearly similar—though more determined and extensive—to that executed in the early Sixties at Philadelphia, Mississippi, against the three civil rights workers, Chaney, Schwerner, and Goodman. One of the main differences is that the plot against the three workers resulted in their deaths; in our case, the plot resulted in the death of one Mississippi police lieutenant, the wounding of another Jackson policeman and an FBI agent, and no injuries to the Republic of New Africa personnel (at the attack scene).

But the plot was no less deadly than the Philadelphia plot: in our case the RNA Government Residence in Jackson, Mississippi, was attacked by some 40 FBI agents and Jackson policemen, including the Chief of Police. They all had bullet-proof vests and helmets. They were equipped with gas guns, 12 gauge shotguns, pistols, and a tank. They attacked at 6:30 in the morning of August 18, 1971, on the pretext of serving warrants on four people (none of whom, except one on a misdemeanor warrant, was found at either place attacked). At

the Government Residence where all, save one person, were asleep, the enemy-police and FBI gave the occupants 75 seconds "to come out with your hands up" and then opened fire.

The plot against us is still alive. On the day of the attack Mississippi's Lieutenant Governor Charles Sullivan bragged to the press that top Mississippi officials had long pondered how to "rid the state" of the Republic and supported the attack. The Mississippi Attorney General sat at the table with the District Attorney and his aides during the travesty of a preliminary hearing held in August.

The judge at the hearing blatantly ignored the truth and the law (and the objections and arguments of our lawyers). The enemy's plot against us is still very much alive. They mean to use the machinery of the state to put us to death.

And We cannot but wonder, from time to time: must We die before people—our people beyond the walls—recognize the vicious nature and extent of the plot against us and speak with at least the indignation We all felt at the plot against Chaney, Schwerner and Goodman? Must We die, must the plot succeed before the indignation of our people cries out, "*Enough!*"?

We have Imani (faith). We have imani in God, who from the beginning has had His arms around us and Who has now given us a sign that no more shall We weep because all the dead are ours with names like Emmet Louis Till, Reverend George Lee and Joetta Collier; a new day has come. We have Imani in the citizens of the RNA, who are doing a hard, ground-breaking work. We have Imani in our group of brilliant, black Mississippi lawyers—virtually the whole black bar of Mississippi has offered support—who are fighting for us. We need money, of course, for the lawyers. We humbly request that you send a check or money order as generous as possible.

But this article is not simply to ask for financial support. It is to call your attention to an invidious tactic that is being used against us as a people. It is to let you know the real reason that the lives of these eleven persons, citizens of the Republic of New Africa, are now being offered up in Mississippi.

The tactic being used against us is to make us concentrate on violence and ignore the programs and the methods of the Republic of New Africa. Of course, the Republic of New Africa believes in and teaches self-defense and We brought arms to Mississippi to defend ourselves (and will continue to do so). After 100 years of lynchings, We would be worse than fools to do otherwise.

But We have threatened no one with arms in Mississippi (except on those occasions when We have been threatened first). And We have

made it plain in endless public pronouncements and through our work that our purpose here is to organize a plebiscite (an independence election) peacefully and to build New Communities—peacefully. On no less than eight separate occasions We have requested negotiations with the U.S. Government and/or the State of Mississippi, and on at least two occasions Michigan Congressman John Conyers, Jr. forwarded these requests to the U.S. Government, last March personally putting the RNA proposals into Richard M Nixon's very hands!

What has been the response? The U.S. Government has ignored every single overture, including the one in March. The white government of Mississippi answered only once—in the press—turning down the request for peaceful talks and referring the matter to the U.S. Government.

The problem which this refusal to talk poses becomes particularly poignant when you realize that neither the (white) constitution of the State of Mississippi nor the Constitution of the United States provides any method whereby people may separate themselves peacefully from the United States.

The U.S. Constitution provides a method for creating a new state within the Union from two existing states, but no method for a group seeking independence as a legitimate expression of self-determination.

The poignancy of the situation is heightened when the group seeking independence is the descendants of Africans enslaved in the United States. Consider the arrogance, the chauvinism, and the unreasonableness of the United States' view of international law with respect to the self-determination of black peoples with whom she has come in contact. When the U.S. bought the Virgin Islands from Denmark (for money) in the early part of this century, the United States never asked the black Virgin Islanders (who came along with the purchase!) to express their views on their future status; the white U.S. Congress simply passed a law and "made" all Virgin Islanders U.S. citizens.

A similar arrogance and disregard for self-determination and international law were displayed by the United States in enactment of the commonwealth statute for Puerto Rico. Ditto in relations with the Philippines before 1946.

And now We come to us!

The facts that build our case for self-determination and reparations (back-pay for slavery) are clear enough. Africans were wrongfully kidnapped from our African homeland, wrongfully transported

to the United States, and wrongfully enslaved and retained here. The Thirteenth Amendment ended slavery. This meant that at that moment—the moment of passage of the Thirteenth Amendment—two free groups of people stood facing each other; on the one hand, the Africans, wrongfully transported, wrongfully enslaved, and wrongfully held; on the other hand, the white U.S. citizen-perpetrator of the wrongs—who now foreswears them.

If the African were free (and he was), no one, not even his ex-slave master, could define his future status for him and impose a status upon him. This privilege—indeed, this right—was the ex-slave's alone, fruit of the right to self-determination. The international law Rule of Jus Soli, would require that the ex-slave master offer to the ex-slave citizenship in the U.S. (for those ex-slaves born on the soil) but because the ex-slave was here only because of wrongful kidnapping, wrongful transport, and wrongful restraint, the ex-slave master could not *force* the ex-slave to accept U.S. citizenship.

Indeed the ex-slave, as a freeman entitled to the right of self-determination who found himself on American soil because of wrongful acts committed against him, had at least three other choices for his future status. He had, of course, the right to return to the place from which he had been wrongfully kidnapped—Africa. He had a right to seek admission to some other country, Canada, France, Mexico, or any other. And, perhaps more important than the others, he had a right to set up an independent nation of his own on the land where, following the requirements of international law, he had (1) lived as the majority population for over 200 years, (2) worked and developed the land, and (3) fought to stay. (That land was, of course, the Blackbelt of the South.)

None of these choices was placed before the ex-slave. The white American passed the Fourteenth Amendment attempting to accomplish the unaccomplishable: he attempted to *impose* citizenship upon the ex-slave. (The Fourteenth Amendment was passed by state legislatures in which, in a few cases, the ex-slave was represented and had participated in authorizing constitutional conventions. But the process amounted to fraud; nowhere was the ex-slave advised of his rights under international law; instead he was led to believe he had no choice other than to accept U.S. citizenship.)

It followed, also, that if the ex-slave's right to self-determination were real (and it had to be), the white American who had grown rich from the slave's body and labor and misery had the duty to restore

riches to the ex-slave to "repair" him, as it were, for the damage he had suffered. Such reparations are a well established principle of international law. More, the white American who as a nation had profited from the wrongful acts committed against the enslaved Africans, had a duty as a nation to make real the results of the freed Africans' use of his right to self-determination. It was the duty to make possible the return to Africa for that part of the black nation wishing this; to make possible real U.S. citizenship for that part of the black nation wanting that, and, finally, to make possible the establishment of an independent African Nation in the Blackbelt of the South, for that part of the black nation wishing this.

What the Founding Convention of the Republic of New Africa on March 31, 1968, said to the world was that many black people now undertood that none of us is legally a citizen of the United States and that some of us claim the right of self-determination denied to our forefathers and chose independence as a separate black nation, founded by our own labor and reparations owed us by the United States and established on the five states of the deepest South, through which runs our traditional homeland. We named the nation, Republic of New Africa. We recognized our land as "captive" territory illegally ruled by others. And We created a government. For a nation must have three things: people, land, and government.

What the Government of the nation said to the state of Mississippi when the President moved there in March 1971 was that We have come to free the land—but to do so by peaceful means, by (1) organizing a peaceful plebiscite, a freedom vote, whereby people on the land choose between the RNA and the USA, because We know that White Mississippi government is in power through force and is not the government of black people, and by (2) building New Communities to show by example that life in a black nation can be better.

All the efforts of the white government of Mississippi since then have been designed to keep us from doing these two things: (1) hold a plebiscite (an independence election), and (2) build New Communities.

This is why We were attacked on August 18, 1971. It is why We are in Parchman Prison now, in the shadow of death.

We think the Republic of New Africa speaks today for ten million people. But today the black people of Mississippi are afraid to speak at all. If We are to lift this fear—the fear that has enslaved us here for the full 106 years since the Civil War—and if We are to save the

revolution and in its wake the RNA—then we must have help from the outside. The people must do these two things: First, the people must join us in demanding that United Nations observers be sent to Mississippi so that fear can end, so that We may organize peacefully for a plebiscite and so that the black people of Mississippi may freely speak their true minds; and, second, the people must join us in supporting the right of black people in America—including the Republic of New Africa—to self-determination and insist that the United States respect that right.

Really it is not much to ask. But if you will join us in these two positions We together will work a great miracle. And in our time.

FREE THE LAND!

A LETTER FROM

HINDS COUNTY JAIL, MISSISSIPPI

In my previous letter from prison i began to lay out the reasons why the state of Mississippi, having failed in an incredible conspiracy to murder us at the Republic of New Africa's Government House in Jackson, now has placed eleven of us under the threat of death through state execution. (As i write this, several of us are being held in small, filthy, locked cells, 24-hours a day, in the maximum security section of Hinds County Jail's old Death-Row.)

In that letter i pointed out that the work of the Republic of New Africa in Mississippi has had two objectives. On the one hand, We are working to organize a peaceful Plebiscite—an independence vote—in which people here decide whether they are citizens of the Republic of New Africa or citizens of the United States. I indicated how our rights to a plebiscite are substantiated by international law, how we in the Republic had established the Delta area as a "zone of disputed sovereignty," and how, in this state where half the population is black and blacks predominate in the Delta, black people do not regard the white government as theirs and would vote for independence, the Republic of New Africa, if permitted a free and informed expression of opinion without fear or duress.

On the other hand, i pointed out in my previous letter that the second objective of our work has been to build one or more *New Communities*. All the efforts of white Mississippi against us so far, i said, have been designed to throttle these two objectives: the Plebiscite and the New Community.

One has to ask why, at a time when new and experimental communities are going up all over America, have officials here gone to such lengths to prevent the building of a New African New Community.

In Mississippi there is an obvious answer that seems always true. A great many white people simply cannot take the thought that black people should undertake anything on their own and succeed at it. As blatantly obvious as this is, this pathological sickness nevertheless is responsible for driving many otherwise rational-seeming whites to unbelievable acts of black repression, simply to prevent our succeeding at anything. And it should not be discounted.

But while this is sufficient explanation for what has happened to us, it is by no means the full explanation. A further explanation lies in the fact that one of the announced objectives of the New Community is to demonstrate to blacks everywhere that life really can be better under New Africa. Wherever We live in America today, particularly in the big cities, our lives are threatened, crossed, and too frequently destroyed by the heroin traffic and drug abuse, by robbery, and by both fear and the fact of sudden violence inflicted upon ourselves by ourselves. Great numbers—ever-increasing numbers of us—are on welfare, cyclic victims of a lack of self-respect and a lack of self-esteem, while the schools, verging on or deserted to black-board jungles, fail to educate our children for modern competency.

The New Community in Mississippi has an obvious advantage on the road to making life better: it is to be built on virgin land, started from scratch, just like cities of a new nation built on some suddenly discovered, untrammelled Australia. What is of greatest importance, however, is that the life-style of the inhabitant of the New Community, the life-style of the New African, is not the same as that “nigger” life-style which We have created in reaction to slave status, oppression, and cultural deprivation in all the many “Harlems” all over America. The life-style of the New Community is dictated by the finer cultural values which We as black people—Africans in the New World, NEW Africans—have in our finer moments culled from all that We have come to learn of the great civilized African past, and from our finer instincts as a people.

The Creed for the better life, which people coming to New Communities must absorb BEFORE coming, revolves around simple but essential precepts: respect and love for oneself and one's brothers and sisters, to the extent of doing unto one's brothers and sisters only that which one would have done unto oneself; the irreversible commitment to personally work to build a better people, a better nation, and a better world.

This, alone, is hardly enough to frighten the hard, white Mississippi leadership. Though we as a people understand the value and necessity of such a way of life to us—after all, We cannot build a NEW

society with old niggers—other persons, black and white, have many times struck out (as many communities are doing today) to bring for their kind a realization of the same verities in everyday life. What does frighten the white Mississippian leadership—indeed, what fairly panics them—is that our determination to build a new and better life is backed up by an economic program that is realistic and that We are determined to put into effect.

That program is called *New African Ujamaa*. And its development as a hard practical reality is seen in our insistence that a “Reparations Election” must come before the Plebiscite, and in New African realization and, again, insistence that hand-in-hand with the Reparations Election must go the success of campaigns run by New Africa’s “Society for Development of New Communities” (the SDNC)—campaigns in which black people all over America are asked to give five dollars on a regular basis to this non-profit, Michigan-chartered corporation (the SDNC) for purposes of RNA economic development in the South.

This is what panics the white Mississippi leadership. They understand, as We do, that black people in this state can achieve supreme political power whenever We marshal the resolution to do so. But, as We also try to teach black people everywhere—POLITICAL POWER MEANS NOTHING WITHOUT ECONOMIC SUBSTANCE AND ECONOMIC CONTROL. In other words, political power without economic strength and control would leave us at the mercy of the same power merchants who run the state now, who run all the cities in America (including those where We have Black mayors), and who run America; their objective is protection and expansion of their economic wealth, and as long as there is relative peace (or the appearance of it), they give less than a hoot WHO runs the political machinery.

The Republic of New Africa is a maximum danger to them because We not only have the plan for political independence, We have the plan for economic independence. And this the controllers of America cannot abide. This is the fundamental reason why the Republic of New Africa suffered the rash execution of a military attack on Lewis Street designed to assassinate our Mississippi leadership and why the long arm of the conspiracy, reaching back through the U.S. Justice Department to the White House, still holds eleven of us under the threat of death through their courts.

Let me explain this process for black economic power and control, which so frightens the leaders of America.

* * *

To begin with the basic framework of Ujamaa economics is quite different from the modified capitalistic economics with which most of us are familiar today. But it is not so different as to be difficult for us to understand. In fact it is really quite simple.

Consider that in America today all of us believe that the availability of pure water—indeed, of all the water We need—is a right. This idea is built into the political-economic life of virtually every community: virtually every community has a water-works, owned by the public (that is to say, owned by the people together), and everyone is able to get all the water he NEEDS, generally speaking. People pay a small water bill each month or each quarter, and there are bond issues and similar instruments to pay for treatment facilities and sewage. But no one is allowed to use a community's water supply to make a profit, the way people may make automobiles or typewriters and sell them at a profit. The reasoning is that water is a basic human need and, therefore, it is the community's job to provide it.

Much the same reasoning lies behind the public school system in America. There is a belief—thoroughly correct—that a good elementary education is a basic NEED of every person in modern society. Therefore, the community undertakes to satisfy this need on a community basis. Private schools, of course, are a matter of choice, but the community itself owns the public schools and runs them not on a basis of profit but on a basis of need.

Economists say, consequently, that water and schools are in the “public sector” of the economy.

All that We have done under New African Ujamaa is to enlarge the public sector. Not only does the public sector of the economy include water and schools, We say it should also include food, housing and household goods, clothing, and medical services. We say that in modern society a civilized human being has “need” of all these things. These are the five *Material Essentials* of civilized, human life: food, housing (including household goods), clothing, and medical services. And under Ujamaa Economics the community undertakes to provide *all* these things to every individual, the same as the individual in America is provided, and expects, pure drinking water.

Now, how is this to be done? Let us ask a question in return: how is it done for the water supply? How is it done for schools? In both cases it is possible for economic planners to estimate how many people will be drinking and otherwise using water each year, how

many children will be in public schools each year and at what grades. In other words it is possible to estimate how many people in a community will be born each year, how many will die, how many will move in, how many will move out, what their age levels and usage habits are, and a great many other things.

If economic planners can make such estimates for schools and water, obviously such estimates can also be made for food, housing and household goods, clothing, education, and health services—the five material essentials of civilized human life.

The economic objectives of life under Ujamaa may be said to be two. The first objective is to have sufficient trained persons with enough resources, machines, and incentive to produce for every family in the nation an adequate supply of the five material essentials of civilized human life. The second objective is—using these same persons, resources, and machines—to produce a sufficient surplus, for foreign trade, to provide a significant level of national wealth for machine replacement, machine improvement, pure research, defense, foreign aid, savings, any debt service or repayment, and personal leisure expenditures.

The government of the Republic of New Africa is confident that We have the people that are necessary and concepts of training that can rapidly evaporate any paucity in skills. The land of Mississippi—indeed, of the other states which will eventually be brought into the nation: Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina—is rich in natural resources. The problem of New Africa is the problem of old Africa: *how do We acquire the machine?*

We should note here, by the way, that in Africa the struggle for economic independence and a more abundant life for everyone is so severe not because our brothers there lack fundamental economic know-how. It is severe because in most cases the European, seeing the inescapable thrust for political independence in the late fifties and early sixties, surrendered political independence quickly — BUT under terms that left the former colonies, French and English alike, economically tied to the colonial-master in much the same way as they had always been. (There are notable exceptions: Guinea and Congo-Brazzaville, among the French; Tanzania, among the English).

Colonial policy had aimed at making the African colonies producers of raw materials and consumers of goods produced in the homeland of the colonial masters; all trade would move in boats of the colonial masters, transactions financed by the colonial master's banks and factors. Hence, the African countries came to freedom without the possession of the machine — worse, without machine-

making capacity — and with all the patterns of trade riveted firmly into avenues created by the former colonial master. The battle in Africa today is for the machine: indeed, for the francs, dollars, pounds, marks, and yen with which to acquire the machine.

* * *

What of New Africa in Mississippi? Let us note, with regard to black economic endeavors, that there are several historical slanders current in the world. Haiti, the first Black Republic, is said to have foundered because of black incompetence and black vanity. Nothing is further from the truth: Haiti foundered because, after her military victory, the traditional markets for her main crop, sugar, were closed to her and there were no beneficent other nations to help her rise from the ravages of war. Liberia never had either sufficient hospitality from others or sufficient capital. We in the government of New Africa have learned the lesson of history well, and We are more than equal to the future.

We know whence the “start-money” for the nation should come. It SHOULD come from the nation of our former slave masters, from the United States, whose wealth today is ALL derived, in essence, from the tri-cornered trade — that is to say, from the body and exploitation of the African slave. Repayment for this is what is known as reparations.

The principle of reparations is well established in international law. Nations pay reparations to nations. They pay reparations for damage to each other, such as for accidental sinking of a ship in time of peace. They pay reparations for war: Germany to France, after World War I. They pay damages for crimes against people, for genocide: after World War II, for instance, Germany not only paid reparations to France for war, Germany paid reparations (over \$800 million) to Israel for having slaughtered six million Jews not only during but before the war.

This last is particularly important to us, because the state of Israel, founded in 1948, did not even exist when the Nazis abused the Jews. The Jews used their reparations for economic development, as all reparations are intended to be used. New Africa's use of reparations will be for precisely the same purpose. We have proposed a settlement to the United States federal government: \$10,000 per individual descendant of slaves, some 300 billion dollars. (The U.S. defense budget every year is well over 70 billion dollars.) Because of the special nature of our oppression and a belief within the RNA

Government that economic development would best be advanced this way, We have proposed that 40% — \$4,000 of the \$10,000 — go directly to the individual.

From every state government with a black population, for demonstrable discrimination and oppression in the years *after* slavery, We are demanding \$15,000 for every family which comes to a New African *New Community* in the South or already lives in the five states. All of this would be used to build the New Community (\$7,500,000 for every community of 500 families).

Reparations are no new concept for us. After the Civil War our forefathers clearly understood that land and money, as reparations, were necessary if the freedman was to have a reasonable chance in life. Whites understood this too, as prove the promises of the Freedman's Bureau and the debates in Congress concerning the illusive, never-paid "fifty dollars, forty acres, and a mule." Indeed, it was the law in colonial Maryland (similar laws in the other colonies) to give to every indentured servant (white), upon completion of the term of service, fifty acres, a suit of clothes, an axe, two hoes, and three barrels of corn.

What our organization for a Reparations Election in Mississippi means — as such elections among blacks all over the country will mean — is that We are at last organizing an effective organ for demanding the reparations and an effective method for seeing that they are distributed.

The reparations election itself will be a simple "yes" or "no" vote in which black people express their conviction as to receiving (or not receiving) reparations. But the process leading up to the vote is crucial. To begin with, it must be understood that We ourselves, as a people, conduct this election. To do this We must first elect Reparations Commissioners. In small cities like Cleveland, Mississippi, and Grand Rapids, Michigan, a Reparations Convention is held and people elect three Reparations Commissioners for every 10,000 persons. In large cities the same process goes on, except that in these cities Neighborhood Reparations Captains are elected first, one for every 200 families, and these captains, in turn, elect the Commissioners, three for every 10,000 persons.

It is curious that the attack on the RNA in Mississippi came barely six weeks after We had elected the first three Neighborhood captains in Jackson!

The purpose of the Commissioners is to register people for the Reparations Election. After the election — and after what may be a difficult struggle for reparations — the Commissioners will use their

registration lists to assure proper distribution. In the meantime, the Commissioners, working with the officers of the Republic of New Africa and the black U.S. Congressmen, will conduct the struggle to win reparations — waging it at the U.S. Congress, before the United Nations, and wherever else it is appropriate.

The instrument of this struggle will be a national Congress of Reparations Commissioners, the first black Congress in the United States elected by black people from the grassroots up. For the Reparations Commissioners in each state will elect five percent of their number to serve as national Reparations Commissioners. Thus, Mississippi, with a million black people, would have 300 Commissioners and send 15 of them to the National Congress of Reparations Commissioners. The Greater New York City area, with a million and a half blacks, would have 450 Commissioners, and send 23 to the national Congress. The National Congress would have approximately 450 members, plus the black Congressmen and three key Ministers of the Republic (Finance, Justice, and State and Foreign Affairs). As an instrument for effectively demanding and getting the reparations from the United States, the Congress* will be without peer.

But the process of the Reparations Election serves two other purposes yet. On the one hand it is a vehicle for teaching us all the fundamentals of New African Ujamaa, the economic basis for building a better life. On the other hand it is a way of graphically reminding ourselves that We need not wait until We receive reparations before We undertake economic development in Mississippi, economic development of the black nation. We can supply the money We need ourselves. We really *are* the richest oppressed people in the world!

Hand in hand with the Reparations Election and our preparation for it goes the Republic of New Africa's campaign to have you — every black person in America — buy a five-dollar membership in the "Society for Development of New Communities" — and repeat this membership regularly. This is a *gift* to the Nation — to enable us to do that which We would be doing IF We had reparations. (We do not have reparations and may not win reparations for some time.) The

* In 1974 the concept of the Congress is being implemented through the National Black Political Assembly, which was in formation as this 1971 letter from prison was being distributed.

concept of a regular gift to the *Society* needs no great explaining: since the end of slavery, blacks have been continually talking about how nice it would be IF We all put together a dollar a week! All that is needed is for you to act.

In Mississippi, in the months leading up the attack in August, We walked and worked in confidence. We well knew the dangers. More than those who did not walk with us, We also knew that really We did not have enough guns, enough ammunition, enough radios, enough autos — sometimes, even, not enough food. But we walked in confidence because We knew, whatever the risks, We — black people — at last had it all together.

Here, in prison, We are buoyed still — because We know that you know. And will act. And, therefore, We will conquer without a doubt.

FREE THE LAND!

POLICE AND THE NEW SOCIETY

A Nation-Building Lecture

Given at the State Penitentiary at Parchman, Mississippi
30 September 1971

One of the many provocative questions that confront us as We undertake to make the New Society a palpable reality on our own liberated land is, "Shall We have police in our society, and shall We have a prison and court system anything like that which We have known in America?"

The answer is, of course, that We do not expect to have police and prisons as We have known them (and been mercilously victimized by them) in America, and our system of justice will be different. Still, particularly in the early days, there is almost certain to be a "policing function" active in our society — different from what We have known, to be sure, but a policing function nevertheless.

To understand the difference, it is necessary to grasp clearly the role which "police" play in Euro-American society. We have often said that one of the failings in classical Marxism-Leninism as applied to the African experience is that the Marxist phenomenon of "Class Struggle" — whereby the classes of society struggle with one another for control of the state machinery — applies very well as an explanation of events in Europe and America but does not so easily apply in explaining traditional Africa. Europe and, to a somewhat lesser extent, America are easily seen as battlefields between royalty and landed aristocracy, between the bourgeoisie and the workers. The prize of the contest continues to be as it has been in the past: control of the state machinery, meaning control of the parliament or congress or whatever law-making agencies exist, control of the press, the institutions of education, the church, the judiciary, the army and the police.

This phenomenon of class-struggle in Europe is a direct outgrowth of economic organization there and the intense, five hundred-year, European focus on the organization of material wealth as the most important thing in life.

By contrast, traditional African society — with its cultural focus on spiritual and kinship relationships rather than on acquisition of material wealth — tended not to have the marked evidences of class struggle seen in Europe and America. In such African societies the land and the wealth of the community were understood to belong to the people as a whole, together, and everyone in the society was understood to have a right to satisfaction of the basic needs of life — housing, food, education, and so on — simply by being a member of the society. “Classes” such as there were, tended to be fixed, established by sanctions not limited to worldly conceptions, and rulers were envisioned as *trustees* of community goods — in which, as we have said, everyone was entitled to share.

In Europe and America, the concept of private property as the most important value in society creates a situation in which the people as a whole have no absolute right to or claim on the land or the goods that they, the people, help produce from the land. Land and goods—industrial products, housing, even food, may be, and are, held by groups of private individuals rather than, as in traditional Africa, by the people as a whole. These individuals who hold the land and goods and, also, control the very labor of the masses of people are permitted to use these things for their personal lush benefit. They are under no obligation to share or provide either land or goods to the people, those whose labor makes the goods possible. And in fact they return to the people only so much of the goods produced by the people’s labor as is necessary to keep the economy’s blood circulating, to keep the workers alive and working, and to give the workers just enough satisfaction and hope to keep them from turning into a revolutionary mass and overthrowing the privileged few. In private property countries, therefore, it is possible for a few individuals to possess fantastic wealth and privilege.

The class-struggle in such countries has been won by the wealthy few, a small group of white (and Japanese) financiers and industrialists; and all state power, which makes possible their control of wealth, is securely in their hands. Theoretically in all such countries the class struggle continues, with the workers trying to achieve control of the state machinery and, thereby, control of their nation’s wealth. But in some countries this struggle is more intense than in others. In socialist countries the workers rather than the privileged few have won the class struggle, and in these countries the state machinery is used to eliminate the now-unneeded class of privileged private businessmen AND to keep that class from ever rising again. In

both cases, therefore, whether We speak of the private-property countries or those former private-property countries where the workers have been victorious, the main point is that the state machinery — parliament, press, schools, church, the judiciary, army and police — is used by one class to keep all other classes in check.

The relatively small group of financiers and industrialists who control virtually all the wealth of the private-property world live in Europe and America and are white (except a few of this class who live in Japan and are Japanese). Their control of this wealth, of course, is assured because they also control the state machinery of each of the countries involved, including especially the judiciary, the military and the police. (It does not matter what "party" is nominally in power in these countries; money always goes to the right places, and the key political "leaders" of these countries never fail to consider the protection and promotion of the interests of their capitalist class as exactly the same as the protection and promotion of their nation's interests.)

The military of such countries (essentially a combined military) fights wars abroad to protect sea lanes, markets, raw goods, and cheap labor. The American war in Vietnam is a perfect example; World War I was a classic example.

At home — unless there is revolutionary activity that requires the army, as during the black urban rebellions of the late Sixties — it is the police who fight the domestic wars necessary to hold in check the workers in general and the most desperate, most exploited, most intelligent groups of these exploited workers in particular. This must be clearly understood: the basic function of the police in America is to protect the wealth of the privileged few, to maintain an atmosphere that allows these few to enjoy their wealth and privilege in peace.

The police, the courts, the prisons are necessary outgrowths of class struggle, instruments used to shield the ruling class — that class which has successfully possessed the state machinery — from war and attrition by people at home. They are used to protect the ruling class from being disturbed.

In America that ruling class of white financiers/industrialists must contend not just with the struggle of the workers as a group but with a special problem. That problem is America's legacy from African slavery, that insidious institution which is the foundation of the privileged class's great wealth. Her special problem is the presence of the freed African living in this country by the millions, generally property-less, and looked down upon and disadvantaged in all things

by white Americans, by reason of race. The most exploited of all people in America, the African, is therefore the natural enemy not only of the white privileged class but of white people in general.

The police, assigned with the courts and the prisons to keep peace at home for the small privileged ruling class, have, as a result of being a white domestic army and as a natural consequence of America's slave exploitation of the African, been invested with the role of keeping peace for white people in general as well. Thus, the individual white policeman in areas where blacks live considers his primary work to be the containment of the black man in his black wards or ghettos, the protection of the white community from incursions of any sort from the blacks. The courts fully support the policeman in this approach to his work.

Thus, inside the white community, in dealing with white people, the role of the policeman is mainly traffic control, juvenile auto theft, and regulation of certain social problems such as drunkenness, and, lately, drugs when they become publicly visible. Inside the white community the policeman performs these duties as a social worker and a public relations agent: there are few arrests (drunks, juvenile car thieves and visible drug abusers are usually taken home), and when there are arrests the courts are gentle as loving fathers. Burglary, embezzlement, and assault among whites in white communities are treated with circumspection and caution by police — except that the courts always assure that when such acts are revolutionary acts against the privileged class, against the established order, the whites are punished with warningly stiff penalties.

By contrast, inside black communities the police are not simply social worker--cool about drugs and prostitution, they are an active part of the organizations which promote and profit from these things. While the white cop on the beat may have no further sophistication about all this than that he has racial contempt for the blacks and is happy to receive his weekly graft, the white ruling class, which permits his behavior, understands that drugs (chemical warfare) and prostitution are important tools of warfare against this most exploited class in America, the blacks.

Inside the black community the white policeman has a marked indifference to crimes off violence by blacks against blacks, and to burglary, but the white policeman has another interest that brings his harsh intervention in such crimes on a regular but individually unpredictable basis. That interest is in maintaining fear in the black community and in robbing the black community of its most aggres-

live men — potentially the leaders of the needed revolution — by putting them in prison.

Thus, white police in the black community (and the majority of such police are white; almost all of their leadership, white) may be slow to answer or solve calls by blacks concerning assault and robbery, but they patrol black communities hard, arresting black men almost at random and on all sorts of pretexts, and depositing us in jail. Because so many of us live close to crime in order to survive in America, sometimes the black perpetrators of actual crimes against black people are arrested. But this is almost always the result of accident and informing rather than interested police work. The main purposes of the police in black communities remain (1) to cow the black community with fear and (2) to remove potential revolutionaries. I would estimate that no less than half the black men in prison are there for specific things of which they are not guilty — and are serving time out of all proportion to the alleged offenses.

When blacks emerge from the black neighborhood and are found in white neighborhoods after dark — even driving through — they are the natural prey of the white policeman. Crimes against whites by blacks are investigated with gusto and intensity until SOME black — or blacks — are arrested and made to pay dearly by the courts.

In the American society from which We emerge, the police, then are the primary instruments used by the ruling class, in the class struggle, to keep the most exploited class, the blacks, in check. The courts and the prisons are the inevitable partners of the police in this warfare.

* * *

The difference for New Africa must be readily apparent. First, New Africa contemplates a complete absence of "classes" and, hence, class struggle becomes impossible. Further, the economic basis for class struggle — the possession of the nation's land and wealth by individuals for individual gain — has no place. Under our system of *Ujamaa Economics* all land and all wealth (and all means of production) belong to the people as a whole, together, and are administered by the nation's government and various community trusts. All people work and contribute their genius to production of the nation's goods, and all people share in these goods according to need, as determined by the people themselves.

The absence of classes does not mean that We will not honor one another. We will still honor the strong, the brave, the wise, the good, the diligent, the perseverant, the outstanding. But none of this will be allowed to be the basis for establishing distinctions in law or custom among individuals or groups.

Are We suggesting, therefore, that there will be no need for police or a policing function? We are not. We are saying it will be structured and work differently in New Africa. It will be based upon instilling an agreed rectitude — *rightness of principle and practice* — in every single individual New African. Just as the whole people must be trained and armed with ordinance to preserve the nation against external attack, so the whole people must be trained and armed with correct philosophy to preserve the nation against internal attack.

How does this work? The precepts of our new and better life are written into our Creed and our Oath; they are elaborated by our supreme governing body, and taught by our leaders. The people must truly absorb these precepts. Such an absorption — particularly of the Creed — gives to the individual New African a rule, a criterion, against which to judge for himself the rightness (or wrongness) of his own thoughts, words, and deeds. The individual New African thus becomes his own first-line policeman.

The community's second-line policeman is the individual's family, those with whom he lives closest and holds dearest. Also steeped in the values of our Creed, these family members are not only able to judge themselves personally but to judge each other — AND they will understand their obligation to do so. The strongest sanction (i.e., "punishment") operating in New Africa is disapproval, which can result in banishment. Approval of the family, therefore, must always remain among an individual's most important possessions. Thus, the influence of the family on the potential law-breaker and on the law-breaker is calculated to be of overwhelming impact.

We expect New Africa to be a nation of strong "community control," so to speak. Therefore, the law-breaker faces not only the challenges of the immediate family, but of the "block club," as it were, and, then, of the entire community. Undoubtably a sort of court system — of African type, where the aim is truly to resolve contradictions and heal the black family — will evolve at the community level, perhaps even at the neighborhood level. But We would expect that punishment, where that — as opposed to correction — becomes necessary, may extend to banishment and that prisons would not exist although persons might be assigned to work-and-correction forces in deep forests, under sea, and in similar places.

NEW MARRIAGE:

WITH LOVE AND WITHOUT FEAR

Not long ago the supreme governing body of the Republic of New Africa, the *People's Center Council*, passed a law approving what We might call "the New Marriage" for citizens of the nation. (This occurred in July 1971.) The Act permits the men of the nation to marry more than one woman, to have more than one wife at the same time. This form of marriage is also known as polygamy or, more precisely, polygyny.

In a real way, primarily because We have chosen to legalize, regulate, legitimize, and elevate a state of affairs that has been with us as a people for a long time, We are breaking new ground, and We seem to be surrounded by a trove of questions and uncertainties. My purpose in this message is to deal with the most important of these.

For many black nationalist men the fact that a modern African nation in the Western Hemisphere should accept the *New Marriage* as a way of life poses no surprise or difficulty. For them it is sufficient that polygamy was practiced in pre-European Africa, is still permitted in some African countries, and is a facet of orthodox Islam, condoned and practiced by the Prophet Muhammad himself. For the thoughtful New African, however, all this should not be sufficient.

We have sometimes made a fetish of believing that if something is "natural," or if it were done in ancient Africa We can do no better than to allow it sway or follow suit. Such an attitude is not consistent with a belief that man has a duty to be better than he is; it is therefore not consistent with *New Africanism*. The drive to satisfy hunger, or sex, for instance, is a natural drive. But if one satisfies hunger by snatching food from children or satisfies sex by sleeping with one's mother that is clearly barbarian. The civilizing drive in

us—the drive to evolve the mere human being into a god—involves the conscious effort to control and direct many of those things in us and about us that are “natural.”

Similarly the same core-teaching in the philosophy of New Africa requires that We continually examine everything and that We constantly seek the *better idea* in our endless pursuit of a more perfect existence through a more perfect man. We cannot accept and enshrine anything simply because it was done in ancient Africa. A thing must stand or fall on its own merits—measured always against our commitment to create a new and better people in a new and better world.

With respect to polygyny We find that the trend in Africa and in Moslem countries—where, in any case, polygyny was practical only for the wealthy—is to do away with polygyny. We find in Africa, particularly as women speak, that polygyny is viewed as an undesirable practice.

It is worth looking into the reasons for this present negative attitude—and it seems to me that the main reason is not far from hand. In Africa and Moslem countries the practice of polygyny carried with it, for the women, the atmosphere and, often, the trappings of slavery. Polygyny in the past has been clearly an institution designed to give its best benefits to men. (Of course, this is not to say that NO benefits went to women; it is simply to say what has been said: the *best* benefits were for men.) The institution of polygyny as heretofore practiced tended to spread among ALL women—not just those who actually found themselves in such a marriage—an atmosphere of inferiority as humans and, indeed, an atmosphere that women were barely one step above cattle as a class of property. This atmosphere tended to diffuse its poison into every relationship of men and women and tended to reinforce and sometimes created hallowed institutions which deprived women not only of certain emotional rights—bad enough—but of education, opportunity, and simple justice as well.

Could any New African—man or woman—do anything except war most fiercely against such a situation?

We in New Africa are justified in calling what We have passed into law *the New Marriage* because it is *New African* and by no means the institution of what heretofore has been called polygyny.

What makes the difference? There is, of course, our basic law: *the Aims of the Revolution*, in our Declaration of Independence, calling for justice for all and equality of rights for the sexes; our *Creed*,

pledging us to misuse no brother or sister and to love our brothers and sisters as ourselves.

This is by no means to suggest that New Africans believe men and women are the same. By no means! We know men and women are different and We glory in the difference. But if men and women are different in their physical chemistry and anatomy, so too short people are different from tall people, light-skinned people from dark-skinned people, mathematically talented people (generally) from verbally-talented or athletically talented people, in all of those particular qualities. But none of these differences, in New African contemplation, can form a basis for differentiation in application of justice or for denial of fundamental rights under law or by custom.

What is, perhaps, equally important is that in New African society the fundamental economic support for old-time polygyny—that is to say, for the enslavement of women—is to be removed. No woman in New Africa will have to seek out a husband in order to be “taken care of,” in order to eat or to be housed well or clothed well or share the fruits of the society. In New Africa, Ujamaa economics will assure that every person—man, woman, and child—will share in the fruit of society, have housing, goods, clothes, food, health services, and education *just because* that person is a member of society.

This is important. For it means children are provided for as members of whatever family they are members of, and that would include a family headed by a woman who by her own choice does not have a husband, as well as one headed by a woman who for any other reason has no husband. Women and everyone else are similarly provided for, and everyone—including women—trains and works to contribute to the national wealth which makes all of this possible. Women thus become free(er) to seek a husband on the same basis that men ideally seek wives: the finding of a mate with whom to share one’s intimate existence and with whom to engage in the miracle of bringing forth life and making a family.

* * *

Now, all this being so, what is the rationale for *the New Marriage* in New Africa? As with so many things New Africans do, much of the answer is to be found in an examination of “need,” of what is *needed*. (And now i do not speak of the presumed “need” of a man to have more than one wife: this remains quite debatable.) The 1970 U.S. Census indicates that Black women outnumber Black men by nine percent; this is to say that in a black population of 30-million, there are 15,735,750 women and only 14,264,250 men. This is 1,471,500 more women than men—a million and a half living,

breathing, hope-pregnant human beings, women, who, mathematically have no chance of getting married so long as marriage remains on a one woman-one man basis.

Since black women out-live black men (women presently aged 55 can expect to live five years longer than men of the same age), a few of these statistically "surplus" black women are of old age—which does not in itself mean they have no desire or need to marry. But among black women aged 15 to 54—those of child-bearing age—the statistical surplus of black women is one-and-a-half times as great as the overall average.

What are the choices left to society? These 1,471,500 women may either remain husband-less (and some may desire this), many becoming classic "old maids"; they may be forced into homosexuality; they may become toys of conscienceless unmarried men, or they may become the mistresses of married men, unable to speak their love openly or have their relationship known and respected, unable to bear children without great psychological burden, and unable freely to proclaim parentage with the father of any children born.

There is still another choice for society in trying to solve the need of these statistically surplus women. It is to allow a woman to join in a New Marriage. It is to do as New Africa has done: to permit a man to have more than one wife.

In New Africa all the requirements of justice and love and lack of "misuse" must obtain. It is up to the individuals to determine whether, strictly speaking, a new wife joins the present family in one household or whether a separate household is established. But New African society reserves to itself, through the issuance of the marriage license and interview, the right to estimate whether a New Marriage would be good both for all parties concerned and for society itself. Society has the right to defer or refuse permission for marriage. (Actually this is true of all marriages.) But at least New Africa has moved to meet a real need, and, in so doing, We have moved to abolish that hateful European institution that has taken root among us—the *Mistress*, the practice of secretly "living double." We have moved to make the possibility of a full life, with respect, real for many thousands of women for whom heretofore it has not been real.

Are there no problems? Of course, there are problems. Even Eden had problems. And electricity will destroy the fool while it serves the wise man. We in New Africa can (and must!) be equal to our problems.

Obviously the right to contract a New Marriage creates the

temptation for men to play *nigger games* with women: to misuse women on the pretext of seeking another wife. But no real New African would misuse a woman in this way, and a *nigger* doesn't need the excuse of a New Marriage to play nigger games: he plays them anyway. (Back-sliding New Africans, men and women, must be helped by other New Africans.)

Obviously, too, the right to contract a New Marriage creates for many women the temptation to prey on married men on the excuse of looking for a good husband in a New Marriage. This, also, is just a *nigger game* and, again, no New African would engage in it.

The law in practice calls for restraint and a fine degree of self-criticism and self-discipline. The idea is not to create moral looseness but just the opposite: to create a moral atmosphere in which ALL our men and women may share, with dignity and respect, in the emotional strengthening which men and women in marriage bring to one another and in the marvelous privilege of helping to create life and the marvelous work of raising a family. ALL must remember that the New Marriage is a minority institution: We would expect that ninety percent of all marriages would be monogamous—one woman and one man. The need that We are meeting is a need involving a fraction of the marrying population (although, in practice, the actual percentage of parties involved might be somewhat higher than is statistically justified, and one can suppose that some men and women, even though they desire to marry, might not find mates).

Men must also remember (as must women, of course) that a New Marriage has little to do with whether a man philanders or chases other women. A man may be more tired as a result of having two wives, but if his mental attitude is one that leads him to chase, he will chase whether he has four wives or fifty wives. For such a person the grass *always* remains a little greener elsewhere. New Africa can tolerate such an attitude (in men or women) even less than the society from which We came pretends it can. As in so much else, the requirement is for self-criticism and self-discipline; it is for us to help each other.

* * *

Experience suggests, however, that the psychological problems associated with a New Marriage are more severe, for the parties involved at this stage of our national development, than the other problems.

Every New African sister has the right to expect that her husband may work with, travel with, and even lay down with another New

African sister, whom he perhaps loves as a sister, and for them to remain simply sister and brother; so, too, every New African brother to expect of his wife. It can be no other way: anything else is misuse.

It is possible for a wife whose husband wishes to take a new wife to feel that somehow her husband's wish for another wife is a statement that he no longer loves her or loves her not as much.

It may not be possible for her to understand that the new sister has no desire to replace her and could, in fact, not be a new wife without her acceptance—and would not want to be, and, moreover, would not go on in an un-agreed situation, hoping that one day in the uncertain future the *New Marriage* would come about.

These problems stem basically from the fact that our present generation has grown up in a society that has no understanding of and no appreciation for the New Marriage. Under the influence of European culture, blacks in America have ignored our own need to meet a statistical problem which is ours as a people (i.e., more women than men) and to meet it in a way that brings an honest life to all of us. New Africans in the future, trained to think of and solve our problems in ways which suit our own best interests, will have no such problem.

Everyone recognizes that parents can love all of their children and each child nevertheless have a special place in one's heart, and still love a newborn child and see another special place for him or her created in the heart. Yet We seem unable to conceive that it may be possible for a man to love a new woman and love the first no less. But it is possible.

A woman whose husband chooses another wife may also fear that others will look at her and think her sex game is not uptight for her husband: why else would he want another wife? She may be prey to feelings of personal failure: *i have failed to give him something that i should*. Neither need be true. As for what she is giving, a husband loves his wife for what she is, for the particular gifts she gives, and they are not necessarily inadequate—nor, loving his wife, a husband's choosing of another wife is not the same as saying that he could, or would wish, to live without her. The new wife is the bringing of other gifts, not a derogation of the first wife's gifts—or of her.

But today, in this early stage of our national development, We are still mightily affected by the opinions of others. Most other black people—including those who are “living double” and have been doing so for years—SAY they do not believe in “polygany” (they could not speak of the New Marriage because they have no adequate conception of it). Thus, a New African woman entering a New Marriage is

faced with the disapproval of non-New African parents and similar relatives who have no understanding and, in this matter, are deficient in honesty. Both wives must face this, and only inner strength brings them through.

Perhaps as bad for the woman is the criticism of peers, other women, many of whom are simply enjoying the non-New African woman's passion for finding fault in others just for the fun of it, out of a need to bolster a sense of inferiority—and out of jealousy. Friends of the first and second wives have their problems too, sometimes uncertain whether they are called upon to be friend to the one or the other—rather than realizing they can and should be friends to both with no disloyalty to either.

Rectitude among ourselves is the answer: the sureness of the fact that *New Marriage* is correct and that it will become what it is not yet: easily received and widely understood.

The most that We have said is that today it is not easy for the parties involved. But each day, as New Africa grows stronger and the realization of our own society on our own land nearer, it becomes easier.

In the past, even under pressure from a hypocritical white society, black America has refused to turn out or look down upon our daughters who have children out of wedlock. Parents—and brothers and sisters—love and keep these daughters and love and keep their children. So, too, must eventually be black America's attitude toward the daughters who choose the honor of the New Marriage. For, all will come to realize that it is infinitely better that the daughters whom We love be married honorably and loved and treated well than left to the former debilitating choices. And all will realize, too, that the sister who welcomes a beloved and loving other sister to the marriage circle is seeding in the finest way the new and better society.

Our strength is in ourselves. Let us understand the New African *New Marriage* and, together, move on graciously and confidently with it.

AND WENT THEIR WAYS

The Kingdom of heaven is like unto a certain king, which made a marriage for his son and sent forth his servants to call them that were bidden to the wedding: and they would not come.

Again he sent forth other servants, saying, Tell them which are bidden, Behold, I have prepared my dinner: my oxen and my fatlings are killed, and all the things are ready: come unto the marriage.

But they made light of it, and went their ways, one to his farm, another to his merchandise, and the remnant took his servants and entreated them spitefully and slew them.

But when the king heard thereof, he was wroth: and he sent forth his armies and destroyed those murderers and burned up their city.

Then saith he to his servants, the wedding is ready, but they which were bidden were not worthy.

—22 Matthew 2-8

Shortly after the approval of the Republic's "Declaration of Economic Intent," during the course of editing the final draft, it was suggested that since this was an *economic* document, the following

philosophical words should be struck out: "The supreme purpose of all our activity, economic and non-economic — in short, the purpose of life — shall be to solve the mysteries of life and death." Sister Aisha Ishtar Salim, former Minister of Information, resisted this suggestion and the lines appear as the document's very first words. For she reasoned that this fundamental guide must always be with us as a people, particularly as We push our economic activity to produce a powerful and technologically excellent society, or We would lose the very thing for which We struggle; We would become the salt without savor; We would become "unworthy."

For it is the belief of some of us among the Founders and early leaders that it is not sufficient to be a nation of fat, well entertained people; that, indeed; our job is to wipe out hunger and deprivation, not for the sake of "happiness," so to speak, but in order that man may be free to get on with the work of solving the universe's mysteries and, on the personal level, of making man himself into that new and better being — not just a new and better man but a new and better BEING — that so much of human experience indicates we can be and should be.

Let me be perfectly clear. There are those of us who believe that to end hunger is not a goal in itself; that to end all the deprivations to which oppressed people are prey is not a goal in itself. Visiting the stars in New African space ships is not a goal in itself. Some of us believe that all experience teaches us that man's most important business is his spiritual evolution. All the other things — the ending of want, the conquering of the environment — are merely necessary activities to make man free so that he may, without the distractions of oppression and ignorance, get about this most important business: the further evolution of the species.

* * *

The pity of our times is that at a moment when man has the technology and the systems to end deprivation and hunger, and when there is no longer a need (if there ever were) for the oppression of man by man, that hunger, deprivation, and oppression all still exist. Strong men, men who are oppressed but yet believe passionately in the dignity of themselves and all men, rebel against this state. And for us there is no choice but to spend our lives in combat against hunger and oppression and in the concomitant step-by-step struggle to build a new and better world as We destroy the old.

I believe in the absolute, essential brotherhood of all men — black, yellow, white, and all gradations between. I believe in the evolution of the human species into a spiritual being with life eternal, and in the obligation of man, the individual, and man, the collective, to work conscientiously to achieve this evolution.

But the realities of our inescapable struggle — to end the oppression and build a better world — and the realities of the world which We must first destroy force certain requirements upon us, the New Africans. We must arm ourselves not only for a spiritual struggle (and that We must do) but for a physical struggle. We, the New Africans, must have disciplined men of steel, trained and equipped to fight with every element of their physical and mental beings, using every implement of modern warfare that We can acquire, against a flesh-and-blood enemy, also well equipped and trained, and to emerge victoriously over that enemy in real physical and material combat.

I am reminded of the words of the Bible: “From the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force.” The Violent rule the earth and exploit and oppress mankind. As We cannot free the earth from them without the aid of the spirit, so neither can We free it without success at material arms.

And We must free the earth! (Or the spirit of man will fail to rise).

We, the New Africans, are similarly required in building that *New Society*, which cannot be safe so long as “the Violent” war against us, to turn away from our “kingdom” all of the Violent. Most white Americans — indeed, many of the white people of the world — must be barred from our midst for almost certainly a generation, perhaps two, maybe more, not because We believe them essentially inferior or not men but because the pervasive poisons of their culture — namely, materialism, individualism, and racism — make them, virtually from the womb, what in other days would rightly be called “children of their father the devil.” They are the tares among wheat. And only through destruction of their system and their false gods — materialism, individualism, and racism — can We assure that newborn white children, from the womb, will not be children of Satan but rather our brothers and sisters and ready to enter the Kingdom.

Thus, We New Africans in our present time have before us harsh requirements. We must and will build a war machine sufficient for our freedom and for total victory over the Violent who oppress and exploit the world. We will, in building our New Society, take pains that We are well guarded both from the attacks and from the presence of the Violent. But with it all We must not and will not

forget who We are: a people loving mankind, a people dedicated to the uplift of the whole human race.

We will not forget where We are going.

And where are We going?

There are, it seems to me, some overpowering themes that come down to us from human history. Mankind can speak with fair confidence of some 6,000 years of civilization building, and when We do so We are talking about the stone and written records which have left a fairly continuous recitation for us in Africa's Nile Valley, the plains of the Tigris-Euphrates Rivers, around India's Ganges, and in the Yellow River Valley in China. Since it seems clear that man — although far from having dominion over his environment and other animals during the earliest times — has been on earth at least a million years, this mere 6,000 years of which We speak suggests most clearly that many more thousands of years of civilization-building are lost to mankind's recollection. And, as if in tantalizing proof of this, ancient and significant rock creations remain to puzzle us here and there around the world: mementoes in the Sahara, on the Easter Island, in Peru, suggesting civilizations 30,000 years or more in the past.

One thing seems certain, one thing seems clear, whether the sweep of history We envision is Egypt's 6,000 years or the Sahara's 30,000, one thing seems overpowering. And it is that man, far from the fleetest or the strongest of animals, rises again and again to overcome all other animals and subdue and manipulate his environment, to exalt himself and build great and rich civilizations — only to have them each, one after another, fall from that greatness. Say We that history in Egypt or in Asia Minor or India or China is a nearly continuous record stretching back 6,000 years? Only relatively. The truth is that in each place, the record of civilization-building is punctuated again and again by periods when the great civilizations ceased to exist and sand and vines and trees pushed through where once great throne-rooms stood, until, after the pause, man would start again and reach another height. Man's journey to the present has been an uncertain pulsing.

But, I think, a second over-powering message of this history is that mankind is going some place — or, trying to. It is as if the human race by trial-and-error were essaying to reach some goal. And whether rightly envisioned or envisioned at all (it might not have been), this goal clearly seems *not* to subsist in the mere conquering of the environment, the mere providing of entertainment and good living. For, civilization after civilization, each well achieving these

goals and intellectual acuity in the bargain, lights its century or two or more and then passes from the stage. Egypt's Old Kingdom. The Eighteenth Dynasty. Sodom and Gomorrah. Babylon. Troy. Rome. Baghdad. Timbuktu. It was as if, for all their greatness, they had failed at whatever it was the whole process is really about.

And what is it really about? Again, I think nature and history provide over-powering themes, over-powering suggestions. It is possible for man today to use fossil remains to reconstruct the natural history of living things. Whether we are talking about eagle, tiger, or man, it is possible to construct from ancient bones and rock impressions what appears to be representations of the various types of these animals which existed back across many thousands of years. We can trace, in other words, the evolution of these forms. Evolution, or change, itself is one of the dominating themes in nature.

There is a strong suggestion in the evidence that evolution seeks to produce creatures better able to cope with and survive in their environments; those creatures which evolution produces which are not equally or better able to cope with their environment simply do not survive. Sometimes evolution is not fast enough or, in terms of the environmental "needs" of a creature, inadequate, and whole species, faced with a changed environment with which they cannot cope, simply disappear. Man sees this happening most clearly with other animals: with the whole group of dinosaurs, for example, or, in our own times, with non-DDT-resistant mosquitoes. But, even if we are unable to be certain as to why species of man disappeared in the past, we do know that they, too, disappeared. Their names line the pages of every first-year anthropology text: Zinjanthropus, Boskop Man, Rhodesian Man, Neanderthal Man, Cro-Magnon Man.

Now, an obvious and important truth about man is that his physical evolution seems now to be of little importance. If we concede that the purpose of evolution is to permit a creature to adapt better to his present environment or adapt adequately to a changed environment, it is apparent that man does this through use of his mind. Thus, when man wishes to get on in a different environment — say, in the air or in the sea — he does not grow wings on his back or develop gills. He builds a flying machine or submarine. The mind.

Some of us believe that that aspect of the mind which is most important to human evolution now is what we know of as the spirit, or soul. One of the reasons we think this is the phenomenon which I have already mentioned: that civilization after civilization has arisen in the past, well conquered its environment, developed intellectual acuity, and then passed away, a success at adaptation but a failure at

that other, unclear purpose which existed for it. We think that purpose has to do with the evolution of a human spirit, a being with a wider consciousness of the universe (just as homo sapiens' consciousness of the universe is *apparently* wider than the gorilla's) and a claim to less transient life.

Men may argue that we cannot use the scientific method to demonstrate the existence of spirit. That is true today. There is, however, no argument over the validity and occurrence of certain non-physical phenomena, such as clairvoyance (the ability to know events as they are occurring miles away) and precognition (the ability to see the future). In recent times the late Bishop James Pike made a compelling popular case for contact with the spirit of his dead son, but the Yoruban Religion, classic among African traditional religions, rests not only upon the assumption of spiritual existence after physical death, but has an entire system for facilitating constant communication between the bodied and disembodied, and the Yoruba lay claim to the success of the system.

Sometimes the arguments against the existence of the spirit seem like the statement of the surgeon who dissected a human cadaver and then declared he could find the spirit nowhere. Almost that is like cutting open an acorn and saying that one finds no oak tree inside. One would not find a "personality" inside the cadaver either; but the personality in the living individual is real: it results from all his experiences, his environment, and his body chemistry, but it is more than the sum total of these. It is certainly more than his body chemistry.

The acorn is a good example of the process of life and creation I have been hinting at. The acorn is but a seed, and, tear it apart as one might, We will not find an oak tree inside or anything that looks like one. Plant the acorn, however, and let it grow in favorable conditions, and a great oak will emerge. This is what We are suggesting about the Spirit: that body and mind (in the mechanical sense) are, together, like the acorn and from them the spirit must grow.

I believe that there are intelligences in the universe with which man can communicate and from whom he can receive help. I believe that down through human history some men have achieved contact with these intelligences and, with this contact, enlightenment. Thus, a whole series of recent religious leaders — Krishna, Akhenaton, Buddha, Christ, Muhammed — has spoken to us of man's mission, as this enlightenment has given them to understand it.

They have, of course, spoken in terms of their own experience and environments. For, We must remember that what the human mind

(or spirit) receives from the universe must come by means of prejudices and nations. An example might help: someone might have an excellent television station and be beaming our perfect signals, but if We have no television receiver, no matter how good the signal, We will get nothing; if We have a poor television receiver, We will get poor reception. It is as if all men have poor receiving sets, and even the prophets, wrapped in human garb, have seen through glass darkly.

But there are common themes that traverse what they have tried to teach man. All of them have sought to teach us humility to make us understand that We are but a small part of a greater universe, just as science today reminds us that We are as grains of sand against the fact that there are 100 billion stars and planets in our own galaxy, the Milky Way, and that there are perhaps a trillion galaxies in the detectable universe.

All of the great prophets have tried to teach us to be dissatisfied with merely conquering the environment, merely making it possible for man to be fat and happy. All of them teach that man must work to develop his spirit. Thus the teachings of Christ in the Book of Matthew are typical. Again and again Christ puts forth the need to take the human material We have been given and by will of mind develop it, like the acorn, into something greater:

The Kingdom of Heaven is like unto a grain of Mustard Seed, which a man took and sowed in his field, which indeed is the least of all seeds. But when it is grown, it is the greatest among herbs and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof.

The Kingdom of Heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened.

For the Kingdom of Heaven is as a man travelling into a far country, who called his own servants and delivered unto them his goods.

And unto one he gave five talents, to another two, and to another one, to every man according to his several ability, and straightaway took his journey.

Then he that had received the five talents went and traded with the same and made them other five talents.

And likewise he that received two, he also gained other two. But he that had received one went and digged in the earth and hid his lord's money.

After a long time the lord of those servants cometh and reckoneth with them.

And so he that had received five talents came and brought other five talents, saying, Lord, thou deliverest unto me five talents: behold, i have gained beside them five talents more.

His Lord said unto him, Well done, thou good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things, i will make thee ruler over many things. Enter thou into the joy of the Lord.

He also that received two talents came and said, Lord, thou deliverest unto me two talents: behold, i have gained two other talents beside them. His lord said unto him, Well done, good and faithful servant; thou has been faithful over a few things, i will make thee ruler over many things. Enter thou into the joy of thy lord.

Then he which had received the one talent came and said, Lord, i knew thee that thou art a hard man, reaping where thou has not sown and gathering where thou has not strawed. And i was afraid and went and hid thy talent in the earth. Lo, there thou has that is thine.

His lord answered and said unto him, thou wicked and slothful servant. Thou knewest that i reap where i sowed not and gather where i have not strawed. Thou oughtest therefore to have put my money to the exchangers and then at my coming i should have received mine own with usury.

Take therefore the talent from him and give it unto him which hath ten talents. For unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have in abundance. But from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath. And cast ye the unprofitable servant into outer darkness.

All of the great prophets taught essentially the same techniques for the development of the spirit: prayer, fasting, non-attachment to worldly goods, faith, love and works.

I am persuaded that were We, the New Africans, to build a society completely free from oppression, richer and more dominant of the environment than any man has known, We would have failed, unless We remain determined to turn our backs on individualism and materialism (to endure without a washing machine in every home, a car in each garage) and unless We remain committed to that correct balance of life with prayer, faith, love, and works which will make possible for each of us and all of us, like a great oak from an acorn, the rise of the human spirit.

Part Two

PRACTICE

AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY STATEMENT

27 MAY 1972

SENT FROM HINDS COUNTY JAIL

Ninety-seven years ago the whites of Mississippi, in order to bury Reconstruction and all beginnings of Black power, went on a rampage of murder. Scores of Black leaders, including State Senator Charles Caldwell, were taken from their homes by armed white gangs and butchered. Scores of Black leaders, brothers and sisters. Scores. And a complete reign of terror was instituted.

So open and vile was their violence that the Select Committee of the United States Senate investigated and issued its report the following year, 1876. The report—which may still be read today—catalogued the assassinations and terror and found that “Consequently the present legislature of Mississippi is not a legal body and that its acts are not entitled to recognition by the political department of the United States. . . .”

“The evidence shows, further,” the report said, “that the state of Mississippi is at present under control of political organizations composed largely of armed men whose common purpose is to deprive the Negroes of free exercise of their right of suffrage and to establish and maintain the white-line democracy, in violation alike of the Constitution of their own State and of the Constitution of the United States.”

“By them the Negro is not regarded as a citizen, and whenever he finds a friend and ally in his efforts to advance himself in political

knowledge or intellectual culture, that friend and ally, whether a native of the State or an immigrant from the North, is treated as a public enemy."

The Senate report goes on: "This tendency cannot be arrested by the un-aided efforts of the peaceful, patriotic and law-abiding citizens. (For) arrayed against them all are a majority of the white people . . . who look with contempt upon the black race and with hatred upon the white men who are their political allies."

"*They have,*" the Senate report concluded, with unerring prophecy, "*secured power by fraud and force, and, if left to themselves, they will by fraud and force retain it.*"

Such was the situation in Mississippi 100 years ago. Such was the foundation of the present Mississippi government. Today there are 121 minor elected Black officials in Mississippi—We have only one state representative, though half of the state is black—but essentially what was true in 1875 is true today. Worse, the enemies of black people and justice need no longer use extra-legal gangs of whites; they now come under color of law in the uniforms of the highway patrol and the police—and in the Brooks Brothers suits of the FBI.

But their aim remains the same: it is to retain white power and white control through fraud and force.

In America the Government of the Republic of New Africa *alone* is struggling for independent land for the independent nation. We have gone to contest for the Kush District—25 black counties lying along the Mississippi River from Memphis to the Louisiana border. Our method is simple and legal: We say the people on the land have the right to choose, and We are organizing a plebiscite.

For our pains, the Republic of New Africa's Government residence and our office in Jackson, Mississippi, were subjected to a wanton, white, armed attack last August—just like the attacks 100 years ago. But this time the attackers wore the mantle of the law.

As a result, because We were fortunate enough to survive this attack, We—the RNA 11—are battling for our lives in Mississippi courts. But We are battling for more than this: We are battling for the right of black freedom fighters here to self-defense. For, if We cannot enjoy *this* right, like other men, We must fold up the show for another 100 years and We *cannot* do that.

Already the racist system here has delivered one rebuff to this struggle: they have judged our Brother and Vice President, 27-year-old Hekima Ana, guilty of murder and sentenced him to life. That is to say—to us, to the world—that black men *will not* enjoy the right

to self-defense in Mississippi. At Hekima's trial not one of our brothers from Africa came to sit with us—as white Communists from the Soviet Union sit with Angela Davis; not one black leader of the struggle in America came. But the fault is mine. Let me here and now make amends. Let me here and now invite you all to come to our next trial, scheduled for August, so that no one in the world shall dare forget again that not only are men asserting their right to self-defense in Mississippi, but the struggle for land is going on *here*. In the beast's belly. Let the world know. Let the freedom fighters everywhere rejoice: *the struggle for land is going on here!*

Now, this one thing more do for us: of whatever you give the struggle in Africa—save just a little for our struggle here. Today New African brothers and sisters are among you with Republic of New Africa “Land and Reparations Dollars” to trade with you for U.S. dollars. The money is to help our struggle for land. We urge you to seek out these dollars and exchange them for yours. Reach out for us in this small but important way.

My beloved brothers and sisters, in harmony with the spirits of our ancestors, confident that our Gods are once more in ascendancy, We promise never, never, *never* to forsake the struggle until We have—here and in Africa—FREED THE LAND!

PROPOSALS FOR THE BLACK AGENDA
TO THE
NATIONAL BLACK POLITICAL CONVENTION
IN

GARY, INDIANA March 10-12, 1972

Five years ago Professor Robert Browne called for national dialogue — *debate* — on partitioning America into black and white nations. There is a joke going around to the effect that some of us were out of the room when Brother Browne made that remark and consequently thought he said “*cre-ate*” instead of “*de-bate*” and so We rushed right out and “*created*” the Republic of New Africa.

Whatever the truth of that story — and i *was* out of the room — Bob’s call was on time, and the Republic of New Africa, despite the attempts of many to pretend that We don’t exist, is today a burgeoning fact. When you take the time to examine it, you will find that We have done our political science and our economic homework well. Today the Republic of New Africa is locked in struggle for liberated land — *independent land* — the one thing the black nation lacks.

Our presence at this historic convention is to further that struggle. We think We understand the role of the Republic in black people’s total struggle for freedom in America. We know that today New Africa stands just outside of the center-of-vision of most blacks in America. Thus, in coming here to further the Republic’s struggle for independent land, We are not here to urge *all* black people to become citizens of record in New Africa: New Africa is only for those who *freely* want New Africa. Nor are We here to argue that conventional politics should be abandoned by black people: in our four years of struggle New Africa could not have made the advances We

have made without timely help, now and then, from sons of conventional politics like Judge George Crocket, Congressman John Conyers, and Representative Julian Bond. In Mississippi, moreover, We have enjoyed certain protections and leverage which We could not have enjoyed except for work done before and since our coming by “conventional” politicians like Representative Robert Clark, Dr. Aaron Henry, Sister Fannie Lou Hamer, and others whose names you might not recognize.

Like all those men and women, the Government of New Africa understand that We blacks in America are *one* people and that, no matter how many fronts We must fight on, We are engaged in *one* struggle.

Let me, then, assure you that the Government of New Africa is here to join you in supporting all those things which benefit all black people.

The RNA requests on the black agenda are two, and while they emerge from the standpoint of an RNA perspective, they are calculated to benefit *all* black people. *We urge that this Convention insist that no candidate for President of the United States, and no political party, receive black support unless he or she pledges the following:*

- (1) To seek legislation and use presidential power to assure the peaceful acceptance by the United States of the results of the plebiscites, for land and independence, to be held in the Deep South.

- (2) To accept the principle of reparations for blacks in America and to work for prompt payment of these reparations in accordance with the Republic of New Africa’s “Anti-Depression Program”, submitted this month to U.S. Congressmen and Senators, calling for no-strings payment of 57.5 billion dollars in the first two years and a total of 300-billion dollars.

With respect to the plebiscite demand, everyone must keep in mind that We have *no design* for *all* black people to come to New Africa. Come if you wish, and if you are ready. But the existence of an independent black nation on the North American land mass — and We are working to hold the first plebiscite in the 15,000-square mile Kush District of Mississippi, 25 black counties lying along the Mississippi River — the existence of an independent nation here would do these things for *all* blacks:

- (1) It would relieve crowding and pressures on blacks who remain in the so-called northern and western ghettos, and it would make a decidedly better life for those who leave to come to New Africa.

(2) An independent New Africa would create a “frontier” for all black people, something We have never had. And this frontier — like the American frontier, in the past, for white Americans — would lead to an inevitable out-pouring of black genius and black creativity.

(3) And, not least, an *independent* New Africa would have a seat in the United Nations. From this *fully accredited* seat, New Africa would work not only for the interests of New Africa but for the interests of blacks in the United States. It would be a true Afro-American seat, fearless, informed, and committed.

With respect to reparations, the New African-submitted Anti-Depression Program would do these things:

(1) Turn black communities in America toward an end to that “capital starvation” which plagues us and which so pre-occupied the recent Black Caucus Economic Conference at Morgan State College. This program seeks to put a billion dollars — a thousand million dollars — into black hands for black community economic projects. The RNA Government is aware that We blacks lost the battle to get Poverty Funds on a no-strings basis. But the essential feature of reparations — as opposed to other programs — is that reparations are inherently without strings. That is why it is so important We stand together on this principle, that there be no compromise over the *principle* of reparations.

(2) The RNA Anti-Depression Program also seeks to put a few thousand dollars directly in the hands of every black family in America. Wisely used, this 20 billion dollars *could* lighten, a little, the weight of poverty on us as individuals and on our communities.

Of course, there are those who will say We have no chance for either legislation: not for peaceful plebiscites, not for reparations. The Government of New Africa says, *Let Us Try*. Let us make the demand. This is unfinished business. It does not begin with this Convention. It certainly did not begin with the Government of the Republic of New Africa. One hundred-and-nine years ago, when Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves in the District of Columbia and offered \$100,000 for passage to Africa, a Convention of blacks much like this, meeting in Philadelphia, sent word to the then-President. The word was: “Stop trying to get rid of us free blacks; instead, take the land in the South where our people have been held in slavery, free the slaves, and give that land to the freedmen.” We say, as they said, give this land to the freedmen; We have earned it.

We have earned reparations, too. Moreover, forty acres-fifty dollars-and a mule have now accrued interest. And do not be hesitant because of a 26-billion dollar U.S. budget deficit. U.S. economic

problems will get worse, not better. We have no obligation to go down with a ship manned by a stubborn and foolish crew. If German World War I reparations could be funded by U.S. loans and bonds, as they were; if the U.S. could give Europe 45-billion dollars in Marshall Plan aid 20 years ago, and if the U.S. in 1965 alone could spent 16-billion dollars on the Vietnam war, then certainly the U.S. is not without resources and ingenuity for paying our just reparations. It is a matter of priorities. What are ours?

Finally, the Anti-Depression Program — and this Convention's demand for peaceful plebiscites and reparations — would be in the nature of a Peace Treaty between the black nation in America and the United States which for nearly 100 years made war upon us. A cease-fire and a Peace Treaty are different, and they are usually separated in time. A cease-fire ends combat. A Peace Treaty settles the *political* relations between combatting parties. The cease-fire with Japan in World War II occurred in August 1945, but the Peace Treaty for that war was not signed until six years later.

The "cease-fire" for the United States' war against the black nation occurred in 1868 with the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Republican government of the white U.S. nation then used the vote of the freedmen to get the two parts of the *white nation* back together. That was *one* problem, but it was not the problem of future political relations between white and black. That was a separate problem. And while We had *debated* this problem for over 100 years before Bob Browne enjoined us to do so in 1967, We have not had a Peace Treaty. Let us, at this Convention, include the RNA proposal on the National Black Agenda and, with this act, take a giant step toward that long-overdue Peace Treaty.

FREE THE LAND!

A REQUEST FOR DEFINITIVE ACTION AT THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

**A STATEMENT TO
THE MISSISSIPPI LOYALIST DELEGATION**

JUNE 1972

We are prearing for a United States Presidential Election at one of those truly momentous moments in the course of American life — moments which, unfortunately, are not often enough recognized for what they are, by the people most affected, until after they have passed and are viewed in retrospect; moments which, nevertheless, mark significant breaks and changes in the fortunes of men and their futures, sometimes for the better, more often, perhaps, for the worse. Such a time was the Presidential Election of 1876. Such a time is the election We face now — in 1972.

In both instances the white majority in this country, emerging from a decade of emotionalism and strife over the rights of man, with the fortunes of the black man at the center, turned wearily from the struggle. In 1876 whites turned meanly away. It can happen again. There is a pervasive disillusionment over the failure of shocking deaths. great social and civil rights bills, and massive expenditures, to bring solace and broad betterment to the black man, to end crime, or return health to the once-vaunted now-dying American cities.

Though black men neither controlled nor spent the monies used in Urban Renewal, Model Cities, or (for the most part) Poverty Program, the burdened mass of white taxpayers THINK the black man is both cause and culprit. And that is what counts. Although 70 percent of all persons on welfare are white, the burdened mass of white taxpayers THINK that the majority is black and that We are unskilled by our own design, and shiftless. *That* is what counts.

But the disillusionment over the past decade is shared by us, the blacks, too. We are appalled that nothing has worked. We are aghast and deeply troubled to realize that among the black poor *three* generations of our people are wards of the state, on welfare. We fight our own mounting distress over a situation in which We are blamed for the creeping disaster of America, a situation in which everyone else has plans FOR us, a situation in which the white majority — without whom *no* law affecting the black minority can either be passed or repealed — is about to turn away from *all* laws to end the chronic black depression, a situation in which no one listens TO US.

Let this Delegation turn from that tradition of benign condescension, of polite deafness. Let this delegation hear not just our black complaints but our black plans — and *act* upon them at the National Convention forthrightly, earnestly, and with a sense of highest priority.

Let us be perfectly clear. We too, the blacks, are tired of handouts. More: we resent the implications of the welfare bill passed in June by the U.S. Senate Finance Committee, that our poor do not wish to work, that our needy should be forced to do *any* work — no matter how useless, no matter how menial, no matter how bereft of hope for training and advancement. We do not want that kind of welfare.

We want jobs that are honorable and truly productive. We want on-the-job training in modern plants and pre-job training in modern technical schools. We want day-care centers and health centers and decent housing and progressive, un-polluted, crime-free communities. We want adequate food. We want self-respect.

All these hopes — this alternative to welfare and Nixon/Long “work-fare” — are written into the Republic of New Africa’s *Anti-Depression Program*.

We urge this Delegation to urge the Democratic Party to accept the RNA Anti-Depression Program in its national platform. We urge you to urge every candidate for President to pledge to us — to pledge to the American nation — to work for the enactment of this program.

* * *

The RNA Anti-Depression Program marshalls itself in a request for three acts of Congress. The first act calls for peaceful U.S. recognition of the right of black people to hold Plebiscites for land and independence in the Deep South. This amounts to an explicit restatement of First Amendment rights. But it is a necessary restatement, because in Mississippi the Attorney General has characterized the presence of RNA workers as “an invasion and an armed insurrection” and he has used this patently false characterization as a basis for a campaign of harassment — seeking imprisonment and assassination — which has already resulted in jail and near-death for 11 citizens and RNA Government workers. Unless the right to peaceful plebiscites is clearly established, black people in Mississippi and elsewhere in the Deep South will be unable to debate — free from fear and duress — the merits of this burning question of independence. The delegates should know that to support vigorously the right to peaceful plebiscites at the Democratic Convention is to support what has already been endorsed as an official Agenda item of the National Black Political Convention.

The other two acts of the RNA Anti-Depression Program call for the use of 57.5-billion dollars in reparations, over two years, to build some 4,000 New Communities of 500 families each, to pay relocation expenses for up to ten-million persons, to put 19-billion dollars in new purchasing power directly into black families’ hands, and to provide a billion dollars without strings for black community projects to improve the quality of life.

And We are not simply talking about new “housing projects.” We are talking about full-fledged, spacious New Communities, where housing is owned by a family without mortgage or rent, because it is built in community-owned housing plants by community labor. We are talking about New Communities juxtaposed with adequate farms and beef ranches, owned by the community cooperatively, assuring

good food and nutrition for all. We are talking about day-care centers, schools, communication complexes, medical centers. We are talking about modern, new industrial plants, cooperatively owned by the communities, where that on-the-job training can go on amidst honorable, productive work. We are talking about new economic relations — drastic in the sight of some (but our need demands drastic measures) — in which production is carefully planned and is for *need* rather than profit, and aims, also, for an exportable surplus. We are talking about genuine community control, among people who will have *hope*. And We are talking about improved human relations, where the drug traffic is dead and where no man or woman must resort to crime out of hunger or the fear of hunger or out of a need for ego-support.

May We remind the delegates that none of the plans put forth by any of the Candidates for President — or the present U.S. President — offers anything but more of the same, inadequate pallatives, and, as in Nixon work-fare, penalties for being poor. Even the economic recommendations of the Black Agenda are of the former nature. Worse, *all* would leave the Black colony tied, like the tail of a kite, to the fortunes of the American economy — a most precarious relationship.

On the other hand, the RNA Anti-Depression Program would achieve all but four of the 15 objectives listed for Human Development in the preliminary Black Agenda, and make the remaining four superfluous. It would achieve all but one of the 14 objectives listed for Rural Development, and that one becomes superfluous. The RNA Anti-Depression Program, therefore, is consistent with the most important stated aims of the most recent conclave of black people in America. For this reason especially it deserves your support at Miami.

It is clear what the Anti-Depression Program can do for us in Mississippi. The stagnation of the economy here is appalling; 100,000 blacks left the state in the past decade, and those who destroyed our traditional livelihood — pitiful as it was — by mechanization show no real interest in our re-training and re-employment. Neither private industry nor the state government has offered an answer to our massive capital needs. But the RNA Anti-Depression Program does.

However, the Black depression is not confined to Mississippi; it is nation-wide. If 24 percent of black families now have annual incomes over \$10,000, fully a third of all of our families live below the poverty level. This also means that the majority of our people, the bulging middle, some 43 percent, must struggle day-by-day to make

ends meet — and barely ever succeed. Our unemployment can be ended by the Anti-Depression Program. Our under-employment can be ended.

Quite as important, the building of New Communities under community control and a working philosophy of brotherhood would reduce the over-crowding of our neighborhoods in the big cities, for those who remain, improve their economic opportunities and the quality of life, and reduce crime and tension, while providing new and re-structured communities in the Deep South for a million families who today have virtually no hope if they remain in the cities.

The question is, is this Delegation seriously in favor of the programs — however drastic — needed to change the lives of black people for the better or do We go to Miami wedded to demeaning nostrums and familiar, inadequate palliatives?

* * *

As We approach Miami, cognizant of the overwhelming mood of the American people for tax relief and a re-directing if not an end to “big government,” it is appropriate to ask where among the American people, and among the majority white politicians who seek to represent them, will We find support for a new 29-billion dollar expenditure next year — an expenditure several billion dollars larger than next year’s worrisome, projected federal deficit?

The answer is not simple. First, it must be clear that We, too, support:

- Tax reform to close loopholes and spread the burden of government costs more equitably;

- Vigorous anti-trust action to prevent the multi-million dollar white collar thefts which each year erode the purchasing power of the consumer’s dollar;

- Price controls to sustain purchasing power, and

- An end to the massive expenditures (a minimum of seven-billion dollars in fiscal year 1972) of the incredibly immoral Vietnam War.

Second, the Anti-Depression Program itself will eventually result in tax savings, by

- Reducing welfare costs as a result of turning recipients into producers, and

- Reducing expenditures necessary for crime and civil unrest, because several major *causes* of crime and tension — hopelessness, frustration, and economic want — would have been removed.

Third and finally, however, the American people will have little problem understanding that one must pay *something* for progress; the problem is to assure that the dollar paid receives full value. The dollars necessary for the Anti-Depression Program will buy back American cities from decay and from the business-destroying malaise which crime and the fear of crime breed. Considering the investment in the cities, this is no inconsiderable bargain. More important, however, is the rehabilitation of the black poor which the program can achieve, together with the ending of the Black Ghettos, an improvement in the quality of life for blacks who stay in the cities, and a rise in their productivity (resulting from less tension, less fear, less crime-loss, and better inter-racial relations). These achievements are beyond price.

We suggest that neither black nor white in America can afford to wait. As Brother Julian Bond has said, that dreadful recidivism has set in among whites, and black people are no longer in fashion. We blacks are only realists when — in an atmosphere where today blacks are being scape-goated by the white majority and the flame of hate against blacks is fanned by the busing controversy, in a country where the “good white people” were neither able to halt genocide against the Indian 80 years ago nor halt genocide against the Vietnamese today — We believe that a *Final Solution* will shortly be prepared against us unless We now take bold and efficacious steps.

All need not be lost. If the election of 1972 augurs momentous change, it also represents an opportunity. But men of good will must act, act decisively, and act now. In the name of decency and human progress We urge you to go to Miami and fight to win support of the *RNA Anti-Depression Program* as a matter of highest priority for national action!

FREE THE LAND!

[Note: The Loyalist Democratic Convention adopted the Anti-Depression Program as part of the Party's state platform.]

THE ANTI-DEPRESSION PROGRAM

OF

THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA

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**THE ANTI-DEPRESSION PROGRAM OF THE
REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA
PRESENTED TO SELECT MEMBERS OF THE
U.S. CONGRESS
IN JUNE 1972**

PART ONE

THE LEGISLATIVE REQUESTS

Three Acts

I. An Act authorizing the peaceful cession of land and sovereignty to the Republic of New Africa in areas where blacks vote for independence.

II. An Act authorizing payment of three hundred billion dollars (\$300,000,000,000) in reparations for slavery and unjust war against the black nation to the Republic of New Africa.

III. An Act authorizing negotiations between a commission to the United States and a Commission of the Republic of New Africa to determine kind, dates, and other details of paying reparations.

Part One: THE LEGISLATIVE REQUESTS

1. AN ACT AUTHORIZING THE PEACEFUL CESSION OF LAND AND SOVEREIGNTY TO THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA IN AREAS WHERE BLACKS VOTE FOR INDEPENDENCE.

A. U.S. Acquisition of Land. In the past the U.S. has acquired "possessive sovereignty" over land by five methods:

(1) **Acquisition by Treaty.** The Indians yielded much of their land as the results of treaties. Usually a pecuniary payment was involved (although the Indians did not always view the transfer as a change of sovereignty or a permanent "sale" and even though many of the treaties are of questionable validity). Sometimes the treaty followed warfare. Sometimes it followed settler occupation of land. But there are over three hundred (300) such treaties with the Indians upon which United States' possessive sovereignty rests. Most of Georgia and Alabama were acquired by fourteen (14) such major treaty actions with the Creek Nation and the Cherokee Nation between 1802 and 1835. Most of Mississippi, the northern part, was acquired from the Choctaw and Chickasaw in six (6) such major treaty actions between 1801 and 1832.

(2) **Acquisition by Purchase.** Most of Louisiana and the land between the Mississippi River and the Rockies, from the Gulf of Mexico to Canada, was acquired by the United States by a twelve million dollar purchase from France, and treaty, in 1803. Florida was purchased from Spain in 1819 for five million dollars (\$5,000,000), and treaty. The Gila River Valley in southern Arizona was purchased from Mexico for ten million dollars (\$10,000,000) (the Gadsden Purchase) in 1853. Alaska was purchased from Russia by the United States in 1867 for seven million dollars (\$7,000,000), and treaty, although title viz-a-viz the original inhabitants seems not to have been cleared until December 1971. American Samoa was acquired in 1899 by a combination of purchase and cold war, solemnized by treaty. The Virgin Islands were purchased in 1917 from Denmark for twenty five million dollars (\$25,000,000).

(3) **Acquisition by Conquest.** The United States acquired Arizona, Western Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, and California through American Mexico, 1846-1848. Puerto Rico, Guam, and

the Philippines were acquired through the American War against Spain in 1898. (The Peace Treaty provided for a U.S. payment to Spain of twenty million dollars.)

- (4) **Acquisition by Mutual Consent.** The United States acquired a portion of “West Florida” in 1810 from Spain, as the result of the people there declaring themselves U.S. citizens and the U.S. President’s proclaiming an acceptance of this self-determination; the area became part of Louisiana. In 1837 the founders of the Republic of Texas, immediately after establishing their independence Constitution, called for U.S. annexation, which was agreed to by the U.S. in a joint resolution of Congress (not a ratification by the Senate) in 1845.
- (5) **Acquisition by Seizure.** In 1812 the United States annexed “West Florida,” belonging to Spain, between the Pearl and the Perdido Rivers, by a simple act of Congress and thus provided Mississippi with its Gulf Coast shoreline. In 1898 the United States, by a joint resolution of Congress (*not* a Senate ratification), annexed the four-year-old Hawaiian Republic.
- B. **Effect of the Precedents on Land.** The precedents make abundantly clear that land and sovereignty can effectively pass between the United States and others by treaty alone and by purchase and treaty. In addition, the precedents of Texas and Hawaii make clear that the United States may — *by a mere joint resolution of Congress* — acquire sovereignty over self-declared nations and their land. The acquisition of the Mississippi portion of West Florida (by a simple act of Congress) reinforces this principle. The acquisition of the Louisiana portion of West Florida — by a mere proclamation of the United States President based on the people’s self-determination there — can only further support the principle.
- C. **Effect of the Precedents on Self-Determination.** The Texas and West Florida (Louisiana portion) precedents established the principle that the United States recognizes the expressed will of the people on the land, with respect to choice of sovereignty and nationality. (A resolution of the founding government of the Texas Republic called for United States annexation of the Texas nation. The New African Declaration of Independence called for separation of the New African nation from the United

States. The New Africans call for equal recognition of our declaration.)

D. Precedents for Self-Determination and the Plebiscites.

- (1) Louisiana portion of West Florida (cited above).
- (2) Annexation of the Texas Republic (cited above).
- (3) **Puerto Rico.** In 1967 the United States held a plebiscite in Puerto Rico for the Puerto Ricans — who are and were at that time classed, *by the U.S.*, as United States citizens (the same as the New Africans and Virgin Islanders) — to determine whether they wished to become a state, remain a Commonwealth, or become independent. In 1952, the Puerto Ricans voted whether to accept a continued relationship with the U.S., and U.S. citizenship, or to be independent, without U.S. citizenship. (Prior to the 1967 plebiscite, the U.S. Congress created the United States Puerto Rican Commission on the Status of Puerto Rico. This Commission had power to “study all factors which may have a bearing on the present and future relationships between the United States and Puerto Rico.”)
- (4) **Other Recent Plebiscite Actions.** The nationality and status of Togoland was settled by a U.N. supervised plebiscite in May 1956. In 1961 the southern section of the British Cameroons voted in a U.N. plebiscite to join the former French mandated state in the Federal Republic of Cameroon; the northern section voted to join Nigeria. In 1966 the U.N. General Assembly requested Spain to arrange for a plebiscite to permit the people of “Spanish” Morocco to decide on their nationality, and Spain subsequently agreed. South Africa claims to have offered several times to hold a plebiscite in Namibia.

E. Citizenship of Blacks in America. The assertion that blacks in America, descendants of slaves, are U.S. citizens as the result of the Fourteenth Amendment or the rule of *jus soli* cannot stand where such slave descendants challenge and reject U.S. citizenship after informed consideration. The rule of *jus soli* cannot operate, *without the consent of the ex-slave* (or his descendant), because the slave was brought to America and held here against his will and consent and denied knowledge of his history and rights under international law. The “grant” of citizenship in the Fourteenth Amendment (it must be considered an *offer* not a grant) fails because it was essentially a unilateral action of the

Africans chose — as they did in March 1968 — independent nationhood, the only question which the American government may justly ask about New African land is not “whether” but “where.” The New Africans have answered this question on the basis of logic: New African land must be on what is now called U.S. territory. Moreover, the “enforcement” sections of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments must be construed as operating upon the United States in a mandatory fashion, guaranteeing that the ex-slave (or his progeny), choosing independence, would in fact acquire land and have his independence recognized. For, the Thirteenth Amendment could not give freedom to the slave without “enforcing” his freedom to choose independence and, therefore, land. Likewise, the Fourteenth Amendment could not give citizenship to the ex-slave — a victim of wrongful kidnapping, transportation, and restraint — without “enforcing his right (or the right of his progeny) to accept or reject that citizenship. (And that acceptance or rejection must most reasonably take place in a plebiscite.)

CONCLUSION

The United States Congress clearly has the power, based upon precedents and the enforcement sections of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments, to pass an Act recognizing the results of plebiscites in the Deep South — and, particularly in Mississippi — and yielding undisputed sovereignty over this land to the Republic of New Africa wherever the majority of people in a given plebiscite area vote for New African nationality.

Part One: THE LEGISLATIVE REQUESTS cont'd.

- 2. AN ACT AUTHORIZING PAYMENT OF 300 BILLION DOLLARS IN REPARATIONS FOR SLAVERY AND UNJUST WAR AGAINST THE BLACK NATION TO THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA.**
- A. U.S. Acceptance of the Principle of Reparations.** The principle of reparations is well established. Usually it involves payment from one nation to another for war damage. A classic modern example is the payment of nearly a billion dollars in reparations in the post-World War II era by the Federal Republic of Germany to the state of Israel for the murder of six million Jews in Europe from 1935 to 1945. (It is interesting that at the time of the Jewish atrocities the state of Israel, which subsequently received the reparations, did not exist. The parallel with the Republic of New Africa is immistakable.) The United States has played prominent official roles in other reparations settlements.
 - (1) World War I.** An Allied Reparations Commission, supported by the United States, fixed the sum of reparations to be paid by the defeated Germany at 132 billion gold marks. (The U.S. acknowledged its "right" to German reparations but accepted no reparations.) Subsequently the U.S., acknowledging and deeply involved in the principle of reparations, achieved an alteration of reparations payment arrangements with the 1924 Dawes Plan, the Young Plan of 1928, and Herbert Hoover's 1931 moratorium.
 - (2) World War II.** The U.S. Presidents Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Turman worked out the World War II reparations claims formula, against Germany and Japan, at the wartime Yalta and Potsdam conferences of Allied leaders in 1945. Under this formula, with respect to Germany, Russia was to receive 35%, Poland 15%, and the United States and Great Britain were to distribute the other 50% among the other Allies. These conferences also assessed reparations against the smaller Axis powers, Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary, Italy, and Rumania — ranging from 125 million dollars to 360 million dollars — mainly in favor of Russia. The reparations accord reached at Potsdam by the U.S. and the other Allies also called for transfer of "German" territory east of the Neisse and Oder Rivers to

Russia and Poland and for the removal of German populations from these territories and from Czechoslovakia, and their re-settlement.

- (3) **Reparations to the Amerindians.** The United States has paid reparations to various Indian nations and groups for damages and frauds committed against them by U.S. citizens, the several states, and the United States, up to 13 August 1946, through the Indian Claims Commission.

B. U.S. Military Warfare Against the African Nation in America.
The landless new African nation in America during time of slavery arose from the forced mingling of persons from several African sub-races, admixed with some Amerindian and European racial strains, and bound by a distinct common history and culture. This new African nation was subjected to a warfare by the United States as brutal as any ever waged by one people against another. New African manpower was destroyed during slavery under the white American nearly as systematically as Jewish manpower under the Nazis, with the major exceptions being (1) a high rate of replacement of destroyed Africans by births and new imports, and (2) a design in America, after 1800, to minimize physical destruction while ruthlessly pursuing cultural destruction. The warfare in America against the new African nation here, as conducted by the United States (i.e., after 1776) was marked by the following characteristics.

- (1) **Combat During the Slave Era.** State militias, United States marshalls, the United States Army, and semi-official police patrols organized by plantation owners and known as Pade-rollers conducted military occupation and warfare against the new African nation.
- (a) More than a thousand black slaves and freemen fought for the British against the United States during the Revolutionary War for a promise of freedom and enfranchisement; after announcement of this British policy, the U.S. permitted black enlistment, and 5,000 black slaves and freemen fought for the United States against Britain in hope of winning for themselves freedom and enfranchisement.
- (b) In 1800 Brother Gabriel Prosser, a slave leader of a black liberation movement embracing some 40,000 slaves around Richmond, Virginia, was broken by weather and white force at

the start of his assault on Richmond. In 1822 Brother Denmark Vesey, a free black of South Carolina who had organized and for five years led a slave underground military organization involving nine thousand slaves, was destroyed by white power prior to a major assault on Charleston. In 1831 Nat Turner's attack on Southampton County, Virginia, ended in his defeat by army troops. In 1859, in the opening military phase of a plan to acquire independent land in the Appalachians for the new African nation, five blacks and thirteen white men, under command of one John Brown (white), were defeated at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, by U.S. Marines and other white forces. These are only the highlights of the black effort to crack the continuous military occupation of the new African nation and to meet the military warfare being waged against the new African nation by an array of United States military forces. Smauel Eliot Morison, in his *Oxford History of the American People*, N.Y., 1965, assures us: "Beginning around 1822 there was a gradual tightening up of the 'black codes' in the slave states to keep the Negroes in order. . . . A system of control was then adopted in the lower South and gradually spread to Virginia and the border states. Negroes were forbidden to assemble or circulate after curfew, and nightly patrols were set up." And further: "Although there were no slave insurrections comparable to Nat Turner's during the next 30 years, it was the strict patrol and control system which prevented anything getting started. But a number of spontaneous and unsuccessful strikes for freedom were recorded in the Southern press."

- (c) Escaped black slaves, Maroons, frequently attempted to set up independent communities in forest and frontier areas, only to be pursued and subjected to military attack by U.S. forces, including privateers (bounty hunters) and Indians paid by State legislatures.
- (d) Black slaves and freemen defending the landless new African nation, also met United States military occupation and attack in a host of small combat actions. Historian Lerone Bennett, writing in *Confrontation Black and White*, Chicago, 1965, describes three such actions occurring in a single year: "In February, 1851, Negroes raided a federal courtroom in Boston and rescued a fugitive slave. In September, Negroes fought a pitched battle against slave catchers and U.S. marshalls in Christiana, Pennsylvania. The next month, in Syracuse, New

York, Negro rebels smashed into a courtroom and rescued another fugitive slave.”

- (e) Of two million men who served the Union during the Civil War, nearly 200,000 were black men fighting to end slavery. An estimated 250,000 more men, women and children served actively as spies, saboteurs, scouts, guides and laborers for the Union, to end slavery. The Confederate oppression of the black nation, it must be noted, was carried out under law and principles valid in the United States until 1863.
- (2) **United States Law As A Support of War Against the New African Nation.** The war conducted against the new African nation by an array of United States military forces was carried out under a cover of, and sanctioned by, United States federal law and court decisions and state and local law. The warfare waged by the Confederacy against the black nation found its legal basis in a direct lineal descent from United States law.
- (a) United States Supreme Court Justice Taney, writing the majority opinion in the 1857 case of Dred Scott vs. Sanford, explains the meaning and importance of the two provisions in the United States Constitution which deal with the slave trade and the return of the so-called “fugitive” slave: “And these two provisions show, conclusively, that neither the description of persons therein referred to, nor their descendants, were embraced in any of the other provisions of the constitution; for certainly these two clauses were not intended to confer on them or their posterity the blessings of liberty, or any of the personal rights so carefully provided for the citizen.” Taney goes on: “the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution. The right to traffic in it, like an ordinary article of merchandise and property, was guaranteed to the citizens of the United States, in every state that might desire it, for twenty years. And the Government in express terms is pledged to protect it in all future time, if the slave escapes from his owner.”
- (b) Provisions of the federal fugitive slave act of 1850 are described in these words by Ronald Segal (in *The Race War*, N.Y., 1966): “The Negro claimed as a fugitive by a master’s affidavit presented before a federal commissioner was to be given no jury trial, the official’s fee would be ten dollars if he found the

Negro to be a fugitive, and only five dollars if he did not; and all citizens were required to prevent the rescue or escape of any fugitive condemned.”

C. **U.S. Cultural Warfare Against the New African Nation.** More devastating than the loss of black life in combat (figures are uncertain, but in the Civil War alone 36,000 black men in uniform lost their lives, 3,000 more than all U.S. battle deaths in the Korean War), was the destruction wreaked by the United States against the new African nation by cultural genocide. Like U.S. military attacks and occupation, the cultural warfare was sanctioned by U.S. law. These descriptions suggest its effect:

- (1) Again, Professor Morison (op. cit.), speaking of the “tightening up of the black codes in the slave states to keep the Negroes in order” after 1822, says: “Whites were forbidden to teach slaves to read and write in every southern state except Maryland, Kentucky, and Tennessee.” What exactly did this *tightening up of the ‘black codes’* mean to the slaves? Listen to W. E. B. DuBois (*Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880*, N.Y. 1935): “They could own nothing; they could make no contracts; they could hold no property, nor traffic in property; they could not hire out; they could not legally marry nor constitute families; they could not control their children; they could not appeal from their master; they could be punished at will. They could not testify in court; they could be imprisoned by their owners, and the criminal offense of assault and battery could not be committed on the person of a slave. The ‘willful, malicious and deliberate murder’ of a slave was punishable by death, but such a crime was practically impossible of proof. The slave owed to his master and his family ‘a respect without bounds, and an absolute obedience.’ This authority could be transmitted to others. A slave could not sue his master; had no right of redemption; no right to education or religion; a promise made to a slave by his master had no force nor validity. Children followed the condition of the slave mother. The slave could have no access to the judiciary. A slave might be condemned to death for striking any white person.”
- (2) Historian Bennett (op. cit.) brings us closer to the awful price which this pattern of warfare, of cultural genocide, exacted from the slave and the new African nation: “Far from being a humane institution, American slavery was diabolically cruel in

that it robbed the Negro of that sense of human dignity which underlies all racial intercourse. Slavery destroyed the Negro's family, emptied his mind, and impoverished his soul. In order to control people, as we learned from Europeans in German concentration camps and Americans in Chinese concentration camps, it is necessary to subject them to constant fatigue, constant insecurity, and overwhelming power in a closed system. Long before Hitler . . . Southern planters had mastered these elementary techniques. Anticipating the devious tactics of the modern police state, masters laid hands on the minds of their chattel. By the old method of the carrot and the stick, by terror and by smiles, by whips, chains, words, symbols, prayers, and curses, the Negro was taught to stand in fear of white power. . . . Africans were given a new conception of themselves, a conception that carries as core-elements guilt, anxiety, and inferiority. The laying of hands on the mind of a whole people, the pulling out by the roots of old customs and habits, continued for hundreds of years. Hundreds of thousands died in the process, and hundreds of thousands went insane. But millions survived, maimed, to be sure, shrunken, shriven, diminué but, withall, alive and breathing. . . .”

D. **Damage to the Nation As A Basis for Reparations Claims.** Damage to black individuals and to the new African nation as a result of cultural genocide and military warfare waged by the United States is clear, severe, and perhaps, beyond accurate estimation. The same is true of damage suffered by black persons (and the Black nation) after 1868, as Attorney Daisy Collins argues, by reason of wrongful deprivation of the freed-man's property — his right to be free of racial discrimination in earning a living, education, housing, etc. Reparations are due the new African nation for this damage also. The following data, bearing on the era of slaving under the United States, are important considerations for a partial appreciation of the RNA settlement figure of 300-billion dollars (i.e., calculated at \$10,000 per descendant of African slaves now in the United States).

- (1) Dr. DuBois (op.cit.) calculates the cost of maintaining a slave at \$19 per year. The slave population is generally estimated at 700,000 in 1790; 1,200,000 in 1810; 1,600,000 in 1820;

2,000,000 in 1830; 2,500,000 in 1840; 3,200,000 in 1850, and 4,000,000 in 1860.

- (2) Professor Morison (op. cit.), no friend of the black man, says: "Cotton was King in the South from 1815 to 1861; and the bulwark of his throne was Negro slavery. Almost 60 percent of the slaves in the United States in 1850 were engaged in growing cotton. . . . By 1850 the crop exceeded a billion pounds, and that of 1860, almost 2.3 billion, and accounted for two-thirds of the total exports of the United States." Then, to illustrate how cotton spread wealth throughout the country, Morison continues: "Sugar planters of Louisiana and tobacco growers of Virginia and Kentucky were allies of the cotton kingdom. Border slave states acted as tributary provinces, supplying labor, food and mules. Northern centers of banking, shipping, and manufacturing profited as the cotton kingdom prospered." Morison says the average annual price of upland cotton at Liverpool returned to the Americans and their factors were 322-million dollars; if, over the preceding decade, five years are calculated at the 1860 rate and five years at the 1850 rate, the earnings for the decade *on cotton alone* are two and one-third billion dollars (\$2,310,000,000). Slavery lasted for 24 decades and involved not only cotton but sugar, rice, tobacco, other slave-produced products and a four-cornered network of trade which rested overwhelmingly on the slave trade, goods produced by slave labor, and goods required by slave economies in the U.S. and West Indies, and which produced the bulk of the capital which white Americans used to achieve industrial pre-eminence over the world. The Republic of New Africa's formula for reparations involves an estimation of the amount due the slave for labor, augmented by six percent interest compounded annually through the present, added to a sum for damages resulting from unjust military warfare and cultural genocide, added to a sum for unlawful deprivation of property since 1868, all reduced to a realizable figure of 300-billion dollars (\$300,000,000,000) and the cession of sovereignty over a reasonable expanse of land.

CONCLUSION

The precedents make clear that not only does the U.S. Congress have power to pass an act authorizing payment of reparations to the Republic of New Africa, but, under the "slavery as war" theory, the U.S. President could agree to the reparations settlement as a condition of concluding the war against the new African nation.

Part One: THE LEGISLATIVE REQUESTS cont'd.

- 3. AN ACT AUTHORIZING NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN A COMMISSION OF THE UNITED STATES AND A COMMISSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA TO DETERMINE KIND, DATES, AND OTHER DETAILS OF PAYING REPARATIONS.**
- A. The United States has participated in such commissions in the past. Among those are:**
- (1) The Allied Reparations Commission, following World War I (U.S. participated in founding and, later, through observer and Presidential Commissions).**
 - (2) The Four-Power Allied Control Council, which participated in the implementation of World War II reparations judgments against Germany.**
 - (3) The U.S. Indian Claims Commissions, empowered to determine claims on a wide basis, including claims based upon "fair and honorable dealings that are not recognized by any existing rule of law or equity."**
 - (4) The International Joint Commission — United States and Canada, to make provision for the adjustment and settlement of questions concerning U.S.-Canadian rights, obligations, and interests, particularly with respect to boundary waters and the frontier.**
 - (5) Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States, to determine claims of United States nationals against foreign governments for compensation for losses and injuries, and to pay claims from international settlements, liquidation of foreign assets and public funds.**
 - (6) The American-Mexican Claims Commission (1942-1947), empowered to adjudicate claims of American nationals against the Government of Mexico, arising from confiscation or destruction of personal property, injuries to individuals, and miscellaneous cases of denial of justice.**
 - (7) The Philippine War Damage Commission (1946-1951), empowered to make compensation for physical loss or destruction of or damage to public and private property during World War II.**

- (8) **The Resettlement Administration (1935-1937)**, to resettle low income U.S. families.
- (9) **The United States-Puerto Rico Commission on the Status of Puerto Rico (1964)**, to study all factors on the present and future relationships between the United States and Puerto Rico.

CONCLUSION

The power of the United States Congress to create a Commission to meet with a Republic of New Africa Commission to determine kind, date, and other details of paying reparations is abundantly clear. Under the "slavery as war" theory, the United States President himself could create such a Commission.

PART TWO

OBJECTIVES AND METHODS OF THE PROGRAM

- 1. The Objectives.** To end poverty, dependence, and crime. To raise self-esteem, achievement, and creativity, and to promote inter-racial peace.
- 2. The Method of Attack.** Phased national development, with the first, two-year phase using 57.5 billion dollars in reparations to affect directly the lives of ten million blacks in America, inside and outside of the five-state National Territory, and to improve significantly the quality of life for all thirty million blacks in America.

Part Two: OBJECTIVES AND METHODS

1. **THE OBJECTIVES: TO END POVERTY, DEPENDENCE, AND CRIME. TO RAISE SELF-ESTEEM, ACHIEVEMENT, AND CREATIVITY, AND TO PROMOTE INTER-RACIAL PEACE.**
 - A. **The Problem.** The existence of the black nation in America as a separate and depressed entity, a domestic colony of white America, is well documented. So are the characteristics of oppression which set this colony apart. Whites are most used to thinking of these characteristics in terms of tax cost: some five-million blacks receiving some kind of welfare, at a cost to city, state and nation of six-billion dollars annually, and the cost of crime and its control. But there are other characteristics. In brief compass these characteristics — all of which are problems for solution — include the following:
 - (1) **Employment.** Since the end of slavery, median black family income has consistently remained a fraction of white family income. Throughout the last decade, despite rising incomes for the black employed, median black family income nationwide remained less than two-thirds of white family income and, in the South, little more than half that of the white. At every educational level, whites earn more than blacks with three or more years higher education. Black unemployment — a depression phenomenon — is chronically twice as high as the national level; while black young job-seekers between the ages of 16 and 25, at the same time the most promising and the most volatile category of blacks (volatile because of their energy and expectations), experience relentless unemployment in excess of 30 percent. It would be a surprise — given the impact of the acquisitive, individualistic white culture — if this situation did not lead to crimes of economic necessity on the one hand and crimes to provide ego support, on the other. And, of course, it does.
 - (2) **Housing.** Housing constitutes a major problem for blacks not only because we own considerably less than half of that which we inhabit but because of its condition. "Another important aspect of the racial dynamics of the Northern urban ghettos," says Sociologist Kenneth B. Clark (*Dark Ghetto*, N.Y., 1965), "is the fact that all are crowded and poor; Harlem houses

232,792 people within its three and one half square miles, a valley between Morningside and Washington Heights and the Harlem River. There are more than 100 people per acre. Ninety percent of the 87,369 residential buildings are more than thirty-three years old, and nearly half were built before 1900. The condition of all but the newest buildings is poor. Eleven percent are classified as dilapidated by the 1960 census; that is, they do not provide safe and adequate shelter, and thirty-three percent are deteriorating (i.e., need more repair than would be provided in the course of regular maintenance). There are more people in fewer rooms than elsewhere in the city.” By 1969 the number of Harlemites living in dilapidated or substandard housing had risen to half the population. In 1970 in rural Georgia more than a third of all black families live in dwellings without some or all plumbing facilities. In Georgia cities blacks live in 40,000 of the 58,000 homes that lack some or all plumbing facilities. Nearly one-fifth of all housing occupied by blacks in the U.S. in 1970 lacked some or all plumbing facilities, a proportion more than three times greater than that for whites. Statistics of this kind say nothing about the demoralizing, no-win war fought against vermin — especially rats — in black slums and, too often, in the *nicer* sections of the black ghettos. Over-crowding under circumstances of racial pressure where those subjected to the over-crowding see its cause as racism, and under circumstances of high unemployment and low income, also seen to be the result of racism, cannot help but result in hopelessness and breed crimes of violence and crimes arising out of psychological disintegration. Chief among these crimes is drug addiction, and from drug addiction, in an environment where the source of supply is ruthlessly manipulated for profit by the police and the crime syndicate, arises a host of other crimes — especially robbery and prostitution — to provide the funds to feed the addiction. While, typically, only a small portion of the black community is directly involved as perpetrators of such crimes, and of the crimes of economic necessity and ego-support, the *entire* community, an entity compact spatially and hedged by numerous psychological limits, remains on edge, on guard, and engaged in palliative activities. It is a truth that the black community itself is the first and, by certain standards, the greatest victim of black crime. But the community loses not only the potential labor, genius, and elan of the

desperate, the hope-lost, and the addicted; the labor, genius and elan of the total community are deflected and, in part, wasted by this enforced guardedness and palliative activities.

- (3) **Health.** Lead poisoning, by paint, is a crisis problem for black children in America. Our health in general is a scandal, the problem exacerbated by low income and bad housing. "The multiple use of toilet and water facilities, inadequate heating and ventilation, and crowded sleeping quarters," says Dr. Clark (op. cit.), "increase the rate of acute respiratory infections and infectious childhood diseases. Poor facilities for the storage of food and inadequate washing facilities cause enteritis and skin and digestive diseases. Crowded, poorly equipped kitchens, poor electrical connections, and badly lighted and unstable stairs increase the rate of home accidents and fires." Writing in 1964, Dr. Clark could report infant mortality for Harlem at the shocking level of 45.2 per 1,000 as compared to 25.7 per 1,000 for New York as a whole, and the rate for Cleveland's black Hough area as double that for the rest of the city. There followed, in the years 1965-1970, a phenomenal drop of 20 percent in infant mortality rates for the United States as a whole, black and white. Even so, in 1970, while America as a whole was counting only 20 deaths per 1,000 births, blacks in New York and elsewhere retained their relatively high levels: blacks in Harlem counted 33 infant deaths for every 1,000 births; Mississippians of all colors were counting 28 infant deaths per 1,000 births, with the black rate typically, significantly higher. In Mississippi there are less than half the number of doctor and nurses per 1,000 persons as for America as a whole; these are concentrated in white areas, and there are whole counties without a single resident doctor or nurse.
- (4) **Education.** For a decade blacks in America have struggled for quality education. The 1962-63 textbook struggle in Detroit; the Dick Gregory-led confrontations in Chicago streets in 1964 to dislodge a racist school superintendent, the "black studies" eruptions on college campuses in 1968, the 1968-69 Oceanhill-Brownsville battle for community control, all are landmarks of this struggle. They bespeak the problem. Early in this struggle Dr. Clark (op. cit.) talked of one, still-not-fully-solved aspect: "Negroes seldom move up the ladder of promotion in urban school systems. There are only six Negroes out of more than

1,200 top-level administrators in New York City, and only three Negroes out of 800 are full principals. Practically all of the Negroes are to be found quite far down in the organizational hierarchy — a fact discouraging in the extreme to Negro teachers and indirectly damaging to the self-image of Negro children who rarely see Negroes in posts of authority.” Addressing the problem of quality education in New York, but in a context embracing black public education in most of America, Dr. Clark went on: “The academic performance of Harlem pupils in reading and arithmetic is still more depressing when compared to the performance of other children in New York City and in the nation as a whole. In the third grade, New York City pupils, on the average, are about equal to those elsewhere. By the eighth grade they have slipped almost a half grade behind. During these same grades, the pupils in Harlem slip further and further behind the achievement levels of New York City pupils. By the sixth grade they are about two and one-half years behind New York City levels and three years behind students in the nation as a whole. . . . Although the ghetto’s pupils as a whole show a decrease in mean I.Q. scores from the third to the sixth grade and a slight recovery by the eighth, New York City pupils as a whole show a slight, but steady, increase in I.Q., until by the eighth grade they match national norms. These findings strongly suggest that for Harlem pupils I.Q. tests reflect the quality of teaching and the resulting educational achievement more than intellectual potential.” Added to the paucity of quality education is the costly tragedy reflected in the fact that in 1970, fifteen percent of all black teenagers between 14 and 19 years old were school drop-outs, a staggering 450,000 youngsters. With the clear correlation shown between education and income in America, impoverished education can only perpetuate and, in light of rising education requirements for employment, aggravate the culture of poverty in which the black in America is now trapped.

- (5) **Economic Power.** True to our colonial status, in a year (1970) when the United States boasted its first trillion-dollar economy, the landless non-sovereign black nation in America could speak only of having 300 billion dollars of annual buying power — and almost none of this remained within the control of black entrepreneurs or black institutions. The 26 black banks (not

completely black owned, incidentally) together have less than 316-million dollars in deposits. Their total combined capital — 26-million dollars — is less than the personal fortunes made by several white men in this generation, who are not even counted among America's richest. That black consumer power should flee the black colony, like water through a sieve, is inevitable: We own no mines, no railroads, no factories worthy of the name (perhaps less than two dozen shops and small plants for all 30-million blacks), possess no taxing power, and must even compete with white entrepreneurs, *inside the bounds of the colony*, in retail and service enterprises. Whites are able to force this competition, explains black mortgage banker Dempsey Travis (*The Black Scholar Magazine*, October 1971), because of "their leverage at the open banking windows." "This is the leverage that has historically been denied the black man, a leverage that has been used to suppress the ambitious and the potential movers and doers in the black community." Because of this racial practice — a lineal descendant of slavery-time restrictions against blacks owning stocks, bonds, or depositing in banks — and because of inferior education, all equating to simple racism, Travis explains (*ibid.*), the colony suffers economic privation out of all proportion to what an absence of racism should yield. "We will find only 114 millionaires, not the 9,900 there ought to be; We will find only 25 stock brokers, not the 3,800 there ought to be, and We will find only 24 new car dealers, not the 3,300 there ought to be." The black churches own a modest amount of property, and here and there a congregation owns a housing development, a shopping center; there are no TV stations and only 20 black-owned radio stations out of 7,000 radio stations in the U.S.; the Masons in Detroit own a radio station and are buying into television. But on the whole the black colony-nation has no significant wealth retaining or wealth generating instrumentalities in its possession: the 30-billion dollars of annual purchasing power remains a consumer power, a revolving fund for the benefit of others. In the midst of a greater society where the control of wealth equates with power, the black colony lacks the instrumentalities of control. It lacks, in other words, a principal source of power over its own welfare.

- 6) **Political Power.** In the absence of the control of wealth through economic activity, sovereign political power for the

colony (which, of course, would end colonial status), would open the door to some degree of economic control. Indeed, sovereign political power would make it possible to alter all of the factors which underwrite the culture of poverty and the invidious effects of racism. Sovereign political power is not available to the colony under United States law as it presently stands; the black colony may aspire to control of county governments in several places in the South and to control of city governments elsewhere; but there are two serious limitations — first, the sovereignty of these units of government is non-existent before state and national law, and, second, their principal means of raising public revenues, taxes, no longer yield sufficient funds for support of the cities and the cities must appeal to state and nation to survive. Only in Mississippi is there a chance under present conditions (though a remote one, under present conditions) of political control for the black colony. Yet considerably less than two million blacks live here (the U.S. census counts only 800,000), which means that 28-million blacks live where there is *no* chance of black control of state government. In any event all important political decisions for the entire American nation — city, county, state — and for the black colony, insofar as they are submitted to the people, are made in the Congress of the United States. With a remote chance of electing two black Senators (Mississippi) and, under ideal conditions (which don't exist), eleven percent of the Representatives. or 44 Representatives out of 435, the black colony would still lack power to pass a single bill. Local political power is not to be scorned: local power could rightly (though only to a point, financing being what it is) improve education and purify much of the administration of justice, but it could not generate wealth or jobs or break the economic control of the larger community, nor significantly improve health, or significantly open career and income opportunity. In short, local political power for the colony cannot end colonialization or the culture of poverty.

B. **The Solution to the Problem.** The answer to the problem is inherent in the problem. It is neither newly discovered nor secret. It is simply that if black life — now a burden on the American nation — is to change qualitatively for the better, then the black man, the African in America, must have power. His problem is powerlessness. Its solution is power. The time for palliatives is past. The time has come for fundamental and far-reaching change. It has come because black men, represented in this by the Republic of New Africa, will no longer abide things as they are and, to change things for the better, will price our ambition so high and sell our very lives so dearly and with so much craft that America, should America fail to abet the change, will cease to exist for want of ability to pay the price. But this is no threat. It seems to us that the truth is We all have been waiting for the word, that clear and abrupt breaking of the vicious cycle, that desertion of the half-truths and patchwork programs, that bold new turning toward the light that will bring the people of this land up out of that abyss into which — because of racism and black dependence — black and white, now bound together, are fitfully sinking. This program is that word. It is that turning toward the light. It is this land's chance for racial peace and new progress for all. But the Congress must seize the courage to make three essential commitments. They are the following:

- (1) **Removal of the Hands.** If, as Historian Bennet suggests, the American tragedy began after 1660 when American planters decided to separate white servant from black and fasten slavery irrevocably to race and, to accomplish this, decided upon "the laying of hands on the mind of a whole people," then it must end now, in 1972, with a taking off of the hands. And this may be, for whites, the most difficult part. Whites, so used to us as "our Negroes," must remove their hands from our culture, our economics, our schools, government, persons. We say that the idea, the idea itself, that the black nation is a colony and that American cooperation must be extended only in some such way as to bring an economic return to Americans must end. The essence of reparations is that reparations are given as a debt due, *without* strings. Would America today truly prefer an obsequious and economically colonized Japan or an obsequious and economically colonized Europe? What General George Marshall said for Europe — and what became U.S. policy — must now be

said for the African nation in America: "It would be neither fitting nor efficacious for this government to undertake to draw up unilaterally a program to place Europe on its feet economically. This is the business of the Europeans. The initiative, I think, must come from Europe. The role of this country should consist of friendly aid. . . ."

(2) **Acknowledgement of Land and Sovereignty For the New African Nation.** *Created here out of necessity, the New African nation will be free and sovereign; our challenge — together — is to determine how that freedom and that sovereignty may be secured amicably and rationally. (Amicability is a matter of will and men; We can achieve it.)* Today We estimate that ten million black people in America wish to be a part of an independent New Africa, more than half of whom do not now live in the five states. No one must be coerced or made to come to New Africa, nor will the ten million who choose New Africa constitute all of the black poor, all of the oppressed or hope-lost — though many will be; many others will be the gifted, the well stationed, the ordinary man and woman with a desire for a life better. But by creating a marked environmental change for all ten million, and a physical *relocation for at least five million of these ten*, We shall bring about a new dimension in breathing and growing space for those who remain where they are; We shall immensely relieve pressure on the crowded northern and western ghettos and spacially and materially restructure and abolish the growing black slums of the South. What is important is that America not choose the path of meanness, that America recognize the right (and beauty) of those of us who want independence and sovereignty and do whatever is necessary, with grace, not to interfere — indeed to help — with the realization of that sovereignty. And sovereignty is inseparable from independent land.

(3) **Toleration of New Africa's New Forms.** The white American must reject the notion that everything that is different is hostile or inimical. It is not. The New African life-style will certainly be different from the American, but the emphasis of the design is to benefit the New African, not to harm anyone else. Our economics will be different. Certainly We cannot look toward laissez-faire capitalism in the Twentieth Century doing for New African development what it did for American development in

the Nineteenth Century. The Nineteenth Century and most of its conditions are (fortunately) gone. In 1968 workshops of the National Black Economic Development Conference in Detroit agreed that black economic activity — even without benefit of a sovereign nation — should be for need, not profit. The means of production in New Africa will be in the trust of the state to best accomplish this end, and the further ends of rapidly ending want and creating surpluses. The system is New African and is called Ujamaa. Inevitably there are important social as well as economic relations that Ujamaa implies. Kenneth Clark (op. cit.) suggests the rationale: “The Roots of the multiple pathology in the dark ghetto are not easy to isolate. They do not lie primarily in unemployment. In fact, if all of its residents were employed it would not materially alter the pathology of the community. More relevant is the status of the jobs held. Nor do the primary roots lie in the frustrations of bad housing. There is correlation between social pathology and housing, apparently confirming the earlier hypothesis that while better housing heightens morale, it does not affect the more fundamental variable of economic status, broken homes, and lowered aspirations, that more important than having a job, is the *kind* of job it is. And more important than housing — once human beings are removed from substandard housing — is fundamental social change.” The Ujamaa social relationships, to bring that necessary “fundamental social change,” arise largely from these key excerpts from the New African Declaration of Independence and Creed:

- (a) **From the Declaration:** “Ours is a revolution against oppression — our own oppression and that of all people in the world. And it is a revolution for a better life, a better station for mankind, a surer harmony with the forces of life in the universe. We therefore see these as the aims of our revolution:

“—to assure all people in the New Society maximum opportunity and equal access to that maximum;

“—to promote industriousness, responsibility, scholarship, and service;

“—to protect and promote the personal dignity and integrity of the individual and his natural rights;

“—to encourage and reward the individual for hard work and initiative and insight and devotion to the Revolution.”

- (b) **From the New African Creed.** The growth of new social relationships, rooted in the Declaration, is nourished by a set of personal objectives set for the New African in *The Creed*. Key among these objectives are these:

"12. I will love my brothers and sisters as myself.

"13. I will steal nothing from a brother or sister, cheat no brother or sister, misuse no brother or sister, inform on no brother or sister, and spread no gossip.

"14. I will keep myself clean in body, dress, and speech, knowing that I am a light on a hill, a true representative of what we are building.

"15. I will be patient and uplifting with the deaf, dumb, and blind, and I will seek by word and deed to heal the black family, to bring into the Movement and into the Community mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters left by the wayside."

- C. **Racial Peace.** None of this implies limitless or unreasoning animosity toward America. In turn, it need not—and should not—be met by such. Actually there are too many bonds of language, culture, history, and (yes!) race between white and black in America that argue for friendship and unity for reasonable men to accept permanent hostility and dislocation. But separation is necessary first. An end to the "laying on of the hands" must come first. It may seem difficult, but something like it happened before: when Americans a quarter-century ago by mutual agreement ended the fifty-year-old colonization of the Philippines.

- D. **The Rise of Self-Esteem, the Release of Creativity.** For the greater part of American history white Americans had a frontier, which, for them, continually offered the possibility of almost limitless opportunity. Black people in America have never had this. In slavery-days to flee to the Indians afforded only temporary sanctuary, for the white man never left the Indian at peace, and whenever it was learned a slave had refuged there, the result was almost always the raid-of-return. To flee North in time of slavery was much as it is today: a journey to a land of disappointment. We have never had a frontier. The independent sovereign nation will be that frontier, a place where a man can go and be respected and rise as high as hard work, ambition, and ability can carry him; a place, moreover,

where a family can have a really fine life. We can expect that just as the frontier notion, the *idea* of building a new world on virgin land, released a long-lived gusher of creativity for the white American, so, too, the sovereign black nation will release lush and long-lived creativity for black people—both for those in the nation, building, and for those who remain where they are—like the Americans who never left the East—but identify.

Part Two: OBJECTIVES AND METHODS cont'd.

2. THE METHOD OF ATTACK. PHASED NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, WITH THE FIRST, TWO-YEAR PHASE USING FIFTY-SEVEN AND A HALF BILLION DOLLARS IN REPARATIONS TO AFFECT DIRECTLY THE LIVES OF TEN MILLION BLACKS IN AMERICA, INSIDE AND OUTSIDE OF THE FIVE-STATE NATIONAL TERRITORY, AND TO IMPROVE SIGNIFICANTLY THE QUALITY OF LIFE FOR ALL THIRTY MILLION BLACKS IN AMERICA.

A. Minimum Requirements for First Two Years. The minimum dollar cost of this *Anti-Depression Program* for the first two years is fifty-seven and a half billion dollars (\$57,500,000,000). This figure compares with 45-billion dollars in Marshall Plan and foreign aid to Western Europe between 1945 and 1952, alone. The objective is to relocate five million New Africans, who freely wish to be relocated, to New Communities in the five states of the Deep South, and to restructure physically old communities and build New Communities for five million New Africans — who freely desire it — already in the Deep South.

(1) Use of the Funds.

\$30,000,000,000	--	To build the equivalent of 4,000 "New Communities" for 500 families each, accommodating 10-million people.
20,000,000,000	---	Partial payment of reparations direct to descendants of slaves (formula is \$10,000 per descendant; \$4,000 direct to individual).
1,500,000,000	—	Relocation Allowance, \$1,500 per family, to one-million families outside of five states (five-million people).
1,000,000,000	—	Relocation Allowance, \$1,000 per family, to one-million families living in the five states.
5,000,000,000	--	Cost of 2,500 acres, \$500 per acre, for each of 4,000 New Communities.
\$57,500,000,000		TOTAL, FIRST TWO YEARS

- (2) **Model for the "New Community."** The following model for infrastructure costs for a "New Community" of 500 families is augmented by the fact that labor is contributed, not only in direct building of structures but in the making of many component materials, which will be provided in New Community factories. Many New Communities will be clustered, encompassing more than 500 families and eliminating duplication of certain facilities — like housing factories and sanitary engineering features. *This model is not included for Congressional "approval" (reparations must be without strings) but as an explanation of how the 30 billion figure was calculated.*

\$ 150,000	Agricultural Materials
800,000	Pre-fab housing plant
140,000	Roads, water, sewage
2,700,000	Materials for 500 dwellings
500,000	Health Center
350,000	School
135,000	Community Center
200,000	Day-Care Complex
350,000	Communications & Visual Arts Center
125,000	Office Building
250,000	Shopping Center
1,300,000	Industrial Plant & Start Materials
\$7,000,000	TOTAL INFRA-STRUCTURAL COSTS
500,000	Personal Money \$1,000 per family
\$7,500,000	TOTAL START-COST OF NEW COMMUNITY

- B. **Mechanisms for Expressions of the People's Will.** Three sets of mechanisms are in operation or potential for effective free expression of the black will in America, for distribution of the twenty-billion dollars in personal reparations, and for effective use of reparations on a community basis. These mechanisms are:
- (1) **The Plebiscite.** The Republic of New Africa has already begun the process of preparing for plebiscites in Mississippi. Plebiscites will be held by New Africa throughout the Five States.

- (2) **The Congresses of Reparations Commissioners.** The Republic of New Africa will cooperate with black organizations in America to select Reparations Commissioners from the grass-roots and to form state Congresses; the state Congresses will create a national Congress. The Republic of New Africa has begun the process in Mississippi. The Reparations Commissioners will register blacks and conduct Reparations referendums. (The referendum model calls upon black people to commit five-percent of their personal reparations to a community fund, for community projects; this would bring one-billion dollars of new money into black communities, for collective use, under black control.)
- (3) **Black Community Organizations.** At present black communities in America are well organized and have numbers of talented leaders. Almost everywhere these leaders — from “conservative” to “radical” are in communication with each other and have or are in communication with each other and have or are capable of quickly generating effective United Fronts and Black Coalitions for successful use of the five percent, billion-dollar community fund. Black leaders in all communities are agreed on the areas of concern for improving the quality of life where We live. We are already at work in our communities on improving education (including the independent black schools), good health, nutrition, termination of drug abuse and its effects, skill training and effective black communications. Black leaders and community organizations will use the billion-dollar community fund in creative ways to assure that that “new dimension in breathing and growing space” which becomes available to those blacks who stay where they are, will yield all the good results it is intended to yield.

C. **Will it Work?** After reparations, the key to success of this program to end black depression — is the production of a large enough surplus of goods to earn adequate foreign exchange. We think that We are equal to this task. But, in advance, who can really say? Success requires careful planning, hard work, organized applied genius, and sanctuary from war and adverse acts of God. We think the ship will sail, so to speak; We think it will faithfully and triumphantly make the far port. But to know for sure, We must put it to sea.

LET US DO IT NOW!

THE SECRET WAR

FOR LAND & INDEPENDENCE

IN MISSISSIPPI

On the morning of the day last July when George McGovern, having won the Democratic nomination for U.S. President, was to make his acceptance speech, U.S. Secret Service Agents, patrolling the lobby of the contender's Miami Beach hotel headquarters, swooped down on two denim-clad black men. In seemingly no time, the nation's news wires were burning with the announcement that "two black nationalists" with concealed weapons had been captured by the alert, combined efforts of the Secret Service and the FBI and that the nominee was safe. As if to confirm the initial suggestion of a black plot to assassinate McGovern, subsequent stories trumpeted a few hours later that the nationalists were being held in \$100,000 bail bond each.

It mattered little that the Secret Service had almost immediately issued a pious press release stating, in part: "We have no information at this time to connect the activities of these men with any intended harm to the protectees of the Secret Service." In the minds of millions of people all over the United States — including many blacks — the damage was already done. "A couple of those crazy nationalists had gotten busted trying to kill George McGovern."

Many a black person probably thought: Can't We do ANYthing right? How you going to sneak up and kill somebody wearing a black nationalist uniform?"

Worse — blacks who thought a little further might even have wondered: "How you going to kill somebody when you forget and leave your gun in the car?"

For, as it turned out, one man — Malik Sonebeyatta — had been arrested in the hotel lobby, while the other man — Ahmed Obafemi — had been arrested outside, some fifty feet away, at their car. The “concealed weapons” which the men were supposed to have had, according to the Secret Service, were, they said, found under the car seat.

For blacks, used to taking a grain of salt along with their news about blacks which appears in the white press, a faint leeriness about the whole situation may have begun to grow when, days after the convention, the only charge against Obafemi and Sonebeyatta was still “carrying concealed weapons” and yet their bond remained, after a second hearing, at the incredible figure of \$100,000 each.

Of course, the truth was simple enough. It is, this truth, probably hard to take for an older generation of blacks weaned on the integrity of a gang-busting FBI and a younger generation treated many a Sunday evening to a selfless, thoroughly honorable FBI. But the truth was that Obafemi and Sonebeyatta — both citizens of the Republic of New Africa; indeed, Obafemi is RNA Southern Regional Interior Minister — were victims of an open, most dishonorable, continuing plot by the FBI to chop off the head of a growing movement that promises to bring land and independence to blacks in the Deep South.

This plot has already jailed the RNA's President and First Vice President; indicted the former Minister of Information; jailed the Southern Regional Interior Minister and the Minister for United Nations Affairs, and framed the Deputy Minister of Interior with a Mississippi felony conviction. (The Interior Minister is responsible for recruitment and organization.) In addition the plot has driven the Consul for Oakland, California, and two of his aides into exile in Cuba and managed to land a number of other RNA field workers in jail for varying periods.

Still the work to carve an independent black nation out of the Mississippi Delta (the Blackbelt “Kush District”), out of five states of the Deep South, goes on.

But so does the FBI plot.

One aim of the FBI plot, is to keep all this a sort of “secret war.” Another aim, since it is not totally possible to keep such a war secret, is to cut the protagonist, the Government of the Republic of New Africa, off from black and white support. The idea is to paint us as (1) irrational and (2) gun-crazy.

Thus, a great deal is made of the fact that in Detroit in 1969, one year after the founding of the nation, RNA Black Legionnaires were

accused of out-shooting some policemen outside of New Bethel Church, leaving one dead and one wounded. Little is said about the fact that after this alleged shoot-out police used over 800 rounds shooting up and invading New Bethel Church, endangering the lives of some 150 men, women, and *children* — with NO forewarning — wounding five persons, and jailing all 150. Several Legionnaires went to trial for murder and assault and were all acquitted. But the white underground in Detroit later left young Brother Chaka, one of those acquitted, dying of stab wounds behind his house.

Much is made of the fact that the Oakland Consul Brother Antar Ra and two other New Africans (Brothers Macheo and Fela), on their way South by car last November, were attacked by a New Mexico highway patrolman, who was apparently killed in the affray. The brothers are now in Cuba, having arrived by specially diverted air flight.

Much is made of the Constitutional crisis that rocked the RNA Government during November 1969-January 1970, separating those led by my brother, Atty. Milton R. Henry of Detroit, who wanted to continue RNA work in the North, and those led by myself who wanted to move the center of the struggle to the South. My brother, a Yale Law School graduate and a long-dedicated rights fighter, is supposed to have said that myself and those who transferred the struggle to the South had “too much emphasis on guns.” The Detroit News happily broadcast the ideological struggle as a battle between the law-abiding and the gun-happy.

Much is made of the fact that when a small army of FBI agents and City Policemen attacked the RNA Government Residence in Jackson (Mississippi) at dawn on August 18, 1971, one policeman was killed and an FBI agent and a policemen were wounded. Little is said about the fact that the police and FBI claimed to be seeking a man on an FBI flight warrant — whose location they were *not* certain of (they sent officers to two locations simultaneously) and who was not found either at the Lewis Street house or the Lynch Street office. According to their own sworn testimony, the FBI and police fired gas guns (which sound like shotguns) into the house 75 seconds after they arrived and before they had any sign of resistance from inside. Indeed, FBI Agent Lester Amman testified that he fired first and that he fired gas cannisters into the *bedroom* of Interior Minister Offogga Qudduss (sn Wayne James of Camden, N.J.), 23, and his three-months pregnant wife, Njeri (sn Toni Renee Austin). Both were in bed.

In a simultaneous phase of this attack four others — myself, then-Minister of Information Aisha Salim (sn Brenda Blount, of Philadelphia) and two Information aides, both ex-Marines, Brothers Tawwab Nkrumah (sn George Matthews of Boston), 27, and 22-year-old Spade de Mau Mau (sn S.A. Alexander, son of prize-winning poetess/novelist Margaret Walker) — were arrested at the RNA Lynch Street office with no firing.

Miraculously, no RNA casualties occurred at the Lewis Street residence, even though the police fired wildly into the residence with shotguns, pistols and gas guns for about twenty minutes. Emerging from this murderous hail un-scathed, in addition to the Quadduss', were Brothers Chumaimari Fela Askadi (sn Charles Stallings of Milwaukee), 19, Addis Ababa (sn Dennis Shillingford of Detroit), 20, 15-year-old Karim Hekima Omar Wadu Njabafudi (sn Larry Jackson of New Orleans), and RNA Midwest Vice President Hekima Ana (sn Thomas Norman), a 26-year-old resident of Milwaukee and his wife Tamu Sana (sn Ann Lockhart).

All of us were held and originally charged with murder, waging war against the state of Mississippi, assault, and various gun charges. In our struggle against this outrageous perversion of justice We have become known as *the RNA-11*.

While the "gun-crazy" notion was being spread across the United States by the news media, the black community of Jackson sprang to defense of the RNA-11. At our arraignment most of the black bar showed up: Attorneys John C. Brittain, Jr., and Fred L. Banks, Jr., who were to become the leaders of the RNA-11 legal defense effort; Jack Young, Sr., and Jack Young, Jr., Nausead Stewart, Reuben V. Anderson, Constance Slaughter, and William Miller, Jr., then-Minister of Justice for the RNA. At other hearings and consultations other black Jackson lawyers made in-put: R. Jess Brown, Hermel Johnson, Cleve McDowell, James Abrams, Dorothy Graham, Maureen Malone, John A. Nichols, and Geraldine Carnes.

From out of town came Attorneys Wilfred Rice, almost immediately, and O. Lee Molette of Detroit and Lynwood Blount of Philadelphia, Sister Aisha's uncle. Later, legal work would be done by Chicago's James Montgomery and Atlanta's Howard Moore and others. Ernest Jones and Charles Cotton of New Orleans joined the first-line legal team.

This was significant because, while RNA activities had shifted to the Deep South — to New Orleans — in May of 1970, intense work in Mississippi had been going on only since March, a mere five months before the August 1971 attack. RNA activities and goals were far

from clear in the minds of many black Mississippians. This was true even though We had organized several Jackson neighborhoods to the extent of electing, a few weeks before the attack, the first three "Reparations Commissioners."

It must be understood that the basic thrust of the RNA in the black majority counties of Mississippi is to hold an election — a *Plebiscite* — in which the people choose between being U.S. citizens and being citizens of New Africa; if the majority of all people in the Kush District vote to be New Africans, the *land* and the people would be declared independent — the same as Cuba, Mexico or Canada — and under the jurisdiction and government of the Republic of New Africa. (Of course, the Plebiscite would also serve to elect Government officials.)

Legally blacks in America are entitled to hold such an election because We are the descendants of persons who were wrongfully kidnapped, wrongfully transported here, wrongfully restrained here, and wrongfully deprived of a knowledge of our rights under international law. Since our ancestors, when freed from slavery, were not allowed to choose, the right to choose becomes ours. No law of the United States, including the Fourteenth Amendment, could "make us" citizens without asking us (because We are kidnap victims, wrongfully restrained); the best the Fourteenth Amendment could do — and *must* do — is *offer* us U.S. citizenship. But We have the right to accept *or reject* such citizenship in a free and informed situation — in a Plebiscite.

And since We do have such a right, and since We are too numerous to return to Africa (and face other problems in this connection), and since there are stretches of land all through the Deep South where We have lived in the majority for decades, in some cases 300 years — because of all this, if any of us choose *not* to be U.S. citizens We have a right to set up our own independent nation, if We choose, on the land where those who so choose are and have been in the majority.

This is what the Secret War in Mississippi is about. It is not surprising that the U.S. Justice Department and its police force, the FBI, would understand what was going on sooner and better than many blacks. Consequently, when the Government of the RNA made a deal to buy 20 acres from black Hinds County farmer Lofton Mason, the FBI and the Mississippi Attorney General understood that from a legal standpoint We were doing to them what whites (the Dutch) had done to the Indians on Manhattan Island in 1626.

They spared no effort to part Mr. Mason and the RNA Government. And, at the moment, there is a Hinds County Court order against RNA officers entering the land at El Malik and We are not building there. (But, importantly for the future, there is an RNA's People's Court judgment awarding the land of El Malik to New Africa. We shall return there.)

However, before the Plebiscite, there is to be a Reparations Election. This is a vote among the people to support the RNA demand on the U.S. government for 300 billion dollars in reparations to build cooperatively owned New Communities and industry. The Reparations Election will also create a Congress of Reparations Commissioners to begin economic planning.

If We are to be a success as an independent nation, We must first attend to the business of a proper economic foundation. This is serious work because New Africa intends to leap onto the world stage as a forward moving industrialized nation, and We must have for Mississippi, for Kush, literally *billions* of dollars for new factories, pre-fab housing plants, farm equipment and general infra-structure. This is a problem to be solved *before* independence. And the two main sources of these development funds are black people's own pockets and reparations. Reparations are the "40 acres and a mule," the money due us from the U.S. Government for slavery and unjust war against the black nation, and for post-slavery discrimination.

For this reason Brothers Ahmed and Malik had found themselves in Miami Beach, Florida, at the Democratic Convention last July. They were lobbying for the Convention to accept the RNA reparations demand — now packaged as a three-bill "Anti-Depression Program" — as a part of the Democratic Party Platform. Before their arrest they had been lobbying in this cause for the better part of two days.

But their lobbying for the RNA Anti-Depression Program had not begun in Miami Beach. Two weeks earlier Brother Chokwe Lumumba, RNA Minister of Justice and a Deputy Vice President, had presented a plea for support of the Anti-Depression Program to the state convention of the Mississippi Loyalist Democratic Party. Ahmed had accompanied Chokwe. The state convention had accepted the program, and this was reported in the Jackson Sunday newspaper, June 25.

But, even had it not been reported in the newspaper, the Jackson-based FBI breathes so hard down the back of RNA field workers that it is impossible to believe they had no knowledge of the Anti-Depression Program lobbying. At the same time Brothers

Ahmed and Chokwe had distributed the Anti-Depression Program around the country by mail. George McGovern, Hubert Humphrey, Republican Senators Hugh Scott, Jacob Javits, and Edward Brooke, and numerous others — including the Democratic Platform Committee and Vice Convention Chairperson Yvonne Braithwaite — had all been sent the program and a request for their assistance.

In March, Brother Chokwe had lobbied for the program at the National Black Political Convention in Gary. The FBI *knew* the purpose of the RNA in Miami. In plain black talk, the FBI deliberately ran the Secret Service up on a hummer.

While others argue the theoretics of being “inside” or “outside” the system, We in New Africa do whatever is necessary. If We in Mississippi are to liberate the Kush District in a process that will not leave us with destroyed water/sewage facilities, charred factories, and burned fields, We know that We must engineer a degree of consent, of acquiescence, among America’s *white* population. We can count. If *any* kind of reparations bill is to pass the U.S. Congress We know We need 51 Senate votes, 48 of which are white; We need 217 votes in the House of Representatives, only 12 of which are black.

We could not advance this cause by killing George McGovern or anybody else.

Indeed, our strategy is plain enough. Black people in the U.S. — including those of us who are trying to *leave* the U.S. — need a U.S. President who knows he owes his election to black votes and black help, and who *may*, therefore, be expected to look upon the black demand for reparations with a more understanding eye than the benignly neglectful Richard Nixon.

We must understand as a people that welfare and poverty programs and even Model Cities (if Nixon has his way) are played out. It may sound alarmist, but the white majority in America — this majority which killed the Indian and is annihilating the Vietnamese — is looking for a new “solution” for *their* “Negro problem,” and they are not above settling on the same solution which the highly civilized white Germans found for the Jews in the late thirties and early forties.

The dynamics of our struggle in America reveal that We blacks have never gotten anything important for ourselves unless white people somehow thought it was something *they* needed. Thus, slavery was always a wicked institution and blacks always fought it and petitioned for its end; it did *not* end, however, until the white North needed to end slavery in order to deprive the white South of

slave labor, enlist black soldiers, and by these means win the Civil War. Afterwards, We desperately needed the vote to protect ourselves against unrepentent whites in the South, but We did not *get* the vote until it became clear to white Republicans in the North that unless black men voted (We could be counted upon at that time to vote Republican) the white South would return to Congress more powerful than ever.

In our own day the voters' rights acts did not get passed until it became clear that Martin Luther King and John Lewis and those who looked to them might really let themselves get killed *in front* of the TV cameras — and the world — if things didn't change. It wasn't that the white power structure cared about Martin or John; but Martin and John were about to mess up the splendid game Lyndon Johnson and company were fashioning in Africa: Lyndon and company were, let us recall, setting up a massive pattern of economic exploitation in Africa, and, unlike the British and French a century earlier, were doing it with hardly a single combat soldier! (But Africans could not be counted on to keep believing in the U.S. as the world's most friendly, black-loving imperialist if, at home, America kept bashing Martin and John over the head.)

Poverty Program came to us to save peace in the cities — *for whites*.

The RNA Anti-Depression Program contains the fundamental answers to the fundamental problems of our people. "More of the same" cannot save us. We need independent land, intelligent central planning, and *massive* development capital. That is what the Anti-Depression Program is about.

For whites it will grant a small part of their secret dream: *to get rid of the niggers*. We estimate that probably five million blacks would wish to leave the North for the *New Communities* of a prospering black nation in the South. Even a smaller exodus would tend to make the over-crowded cities more liveable. It should certainly reduce the problems which now spiral up from the unemployment and under-employment attending the present black depression. And the impact of new black social relationships in a successful nearby black nation, and thriving black cultural models, would provide strength for black communities remaining in America.

Through these measures, which We need to improve the quality of black life, Whites will buy back cities like New York — at least, the distress of these cities will no longer be attributable to blacks. They will reduce their long-term expenditures for problems related to

blacks which they (the whites) themselves caused but which have become so burdensome, and are so identified with blacks, that the *majority* of whites are now listening attentively to George Wallace.

In the Deep South, meanwhile, *the Secret War* of the FBI against the Republic of New Africa goes on. It goes on because the white man is haunted by a sudden dream. It is the dream of the despised black man remembering all the lessons of history and now going on to seize the most important of all commodities: land! It is the nightmare that the end of the white world, which the poets have written about for a generation, has not only substance in a rotting society, but substance in the actual slipping away of — land!

But there is a wakefulness too. The *Secret War* will end — or, at least, pass into another phase, because We are persistent. In Mississippi the Government of New Africa has received the active support of old warriors like Dr. William Miller and young warriors like Dr. Aaron Shirley and Benny Thompson, and scores of others. We have received the steady courtesy of Representative Robert Clark, the only black man in the Mississippi legislature, and Aaron Henry and Charles Evers and legions of others.

It will end in success for us, this *Secret War*, despite the bitter sacrifices exacted from us in New Africa, sometimes in the dark, because in his wakefulness the white man will understand that *something* is better than nothing, the Anti-Depression Program a better alternative than that awful desperate step to a Final Solution — watched by a world no longer controlled, as it was in the thirties and forties, exclusively by whites.

Because We are persistent, because We are right, because our moment in history has come, and because the people are becoming aware of this Secret War and moving to our side, We shall, without a doubt, and in our time, FREE THE LAND!

LETTER TO EDITORS OF BLACK NEWSPAPERS AND BLACK RADIO

28 JULY 1972

Power and Peace, Brother and Sister Editors:

1. For over two years now the Government of the Republic of New Africa has been encumbered by a vile campaign of press distortions and calumny. This period has coincided with our hardest and most serious revolutionary work in the South. Unfortunately this campaign has too often been aided by the black press. Too often — despite news releases issued by our officers and despite our invitations to the black press to come and see for yourself — the black press has merely reprinted the distortions and untruths found in the New York Times and UPI.

2. The recent arrest of two RNA citizens in Miami Beach during the Democratic National Convention is a case in point. The story appearing in the July 22, 1972, Afro-American is a painful example of what has become typical: it repeats the grossest distortions and innuendoes planted by the U.S. government and transmitted by the white media. Neither of the men arrested carried any weapon on him; two guns were allegedly found in their car under the seat. Both men were doing openly what they had been doing for two days: introducing the delegates to the details of the RNA's first-phase 57.5 billion-dollar Anti-Depression Program. The Secret Service publicly disavowed any knowledge of any RNA plot to harm McGovern or anyone else. The RNA citizens were charged with possession of concealed weapons *only* — but were held under \$100,000 bond each.

3. Yet no member of the black press asked why. No member of the black press sought out RNA people in Miami, here in Jackson, or

in New Orleans. We were, instead, pilloried in the black press. And no mention was made in these stories about the secret war which the FBI has been conducting against us for three years — including their dawn attack on our residence in Jackson last August which resulted in one dead for them and two wounded, and, illogically, 11 of us being jailed.

4. It is, furthermore, a naked calumny to say that the RNA was “run off” El Malik last year. RNA building activities had halted at El Malik — at *my* direction — because of a dispute with Lofton Mason over terms of our purchase agreement. No one — neither Mason nor Mississippi officials — ever encountered RNA people at El Malik and either asked or “drove” us from the land. (We are presently concentrating on land in Leflore County and will return to El Malik later.) No RNA citizen was ever convicted of shooting a policeman or anyone else in the New Bethel incident in Detroit in 1969.

5. The point is, gentlemen and sisters, We cannot survive such treatment from the black press. You are doing what the white man could never do alone: paint us as rash fools and cut us off from black support. We are neither rash nor fools. We are led by educated, thoughtful black men and women who are practicing political scientists, and We are doing a difficult and misunderstood work much better than is popularly appreciated. In the name of decency, fair-play, and black freedom i entreat you to read and familiarize yourself with the enclosed RNA background material and data on the RNA Anti-Depression Program. We request that in the future you refrain from simply repeating the white media, and that in this instance you take the corrective step of printing and broadcasting the substance of the proposals, enclosed, which our Brothers Ahmed and Tarik took to Miami Beach. Thank you.

FREE THE LAND!

IMARI ABUBAKARI OBADELE, I
(from Hinds County Jail, Jackson, Mississippi)

THE REPORTS OF OUR DEMISE ARE GREATLY EXAGGERATED

JACKSON, Miss. — The Republic of New Africa is alive and well in Mississippi. And in Louisiana and in a dozen other locations across the United States.

The struggle for independent land in Mississippi is steadily advancing towards a climax: a plebiscite to be held in 25 black counties along the Mississippi River, which, if We are successful, will declare this 15,000-square-mile area free and independent by popular vote.

The campaign to win reparations from the U.S. — actually a constant theme of the black struggle since slavery — has been re-opened by the Republic of New Africa with a specific demand on Congress in the form of the RNA's 300-billion dollar Anti-Depression Program, and is off to a good start.

It seems to me essential to make the above three affirmations at this time. In recent weeks the serious threat of our Movement to the status quo has brought down upon our heads some viciously mendacious RNA obituaries in several large-circulation white publications. Like Will Rogers before us, We have to demur: the reports of our death are greatly exaggerated.

The problem is that the FBI and *your local police* in Jackson, Mississippi, are in trouble. Because of a badly bungled attack on the RNA Government residence here last year that left one policeman dead, two other "lawmen" wounded, and no RNA casualties, the FBI, the Jackson police chief, the mayor, and a host of like characters are going to have to explain in court how they happened to put

together such a bizarre raid. They are going to have to explain why they trampled every protection of human rights found in *their* Constitution and by what perversion of logic they have arrested and charged the *victims* of their attack.

It is a bad time for the G-men. But G-men are resourceful. They have leaned lustily into a counter-attack. Strategy number one is to spread the notion that the RNA is unloved by black folk and that our cadres are made up of (of all things!) poor, *young* people. (Hasn't it always been so in every revolution?) Strategy number two is to make people believe that RNA workers are practitioners of aggressive violence.

This is not so funny — because behind this strategy, We are convinced, is the cold-blooded intention of the FBI and the police to stage more armed attacks upon us, bent on assassinations, before they are called to answer in court. There is an ancient, simple logic to this: dead men tell no tales. And, if they are able to convince black people in advance that We deserve to be killed, there won't even be one of those memorials at which We blacks have grown so good.

* * *

For the Government of the Republic of New Africa it is, therefore, a matter of great urgency that We try to set the record straight and that We call upon the black press to help us do so.

Let us begin with the matter of violence. No RNA government worker, Black Legioner, or Security Forceman — with the exception of Vice President Hekima Ana — has ever been convicted of shooting anyone. Brother Hekima, you will recall, is the first and only of the RNA-11 to stand trial and he was convicted of murder in a shockingly racist travesty in May as a result of that infamous FBI/police attack on our Government Residence last year. Hekima — and his wife — were in bed minding their own business when they were fired upon.

Similarly in each of the other shooting incidents in which We have allegedly been involved — whether New Mexico or New Bethel — We have been peacefully assembled, We have been minding our own business, and We have sought out no one.

During the Civil Rights Era We observed that white racists, "lawmen" and civilians, attacked and shot at brothers and sisters whether they were armed or not armed. But We noticed that armed blacks usually had a better chance of survival. The *Deacons*, for instance,

effectively curbed violence against Blacks in Bogalusa, and when We came to El Malik last year — openly armed — We noticed that the Ku Klux Klan, which had promised to bury us in “six-foot holes,” kept its distance. We have concluded, therefore, that although our people *do not* go armed on the streets, We do keep arms in our homes and will shoot back if shot at.

But under the enemy’s own law this is perfectly legal. Indeed, this is where their problem begins: every step taken by the Republic of New Africa has been plotted to stay within limits generated by *their* laws and constitution. Nowhere does any New African shout “off the pigs” or call for attacks on their “constitutional” authority. Our campaign to organize peacefully a plebiscite (an independent vote) falls within limits generated by the First Amendment and, as We shall soon show in court, justified by the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments. Our plan for carving an independent nation out of land now considered U.S. territory does not involve overthrow of the U.S. government.

Thus, to stop us, the FBI and the police have found it necessary to operate *outside* of their own law. This is an important consideration, and its implications must be fully understood.

In the propaganda war they have simply piled lie on lie. They say We have no support in Mississippi. Yet in June the state convention of the Mississippi Loyalist Democrats (the black group headed by Aaron Henry, which went to the Miami Convention) adopted the RNA’s Anti-Depression Program as part of its platform. And the president of the Jackson NAACP, Atty. Fred Banks, is one of the RNA-11 lawyers.

They saw We have no land in Mississippi. Yet the warranty deed transferring a few acres in Leflore County to the RNA’s “Society for Development of New Communities, Inc.,” is on file in the office of Chancery Clerk Noel L. McCool, sealed and dated 23 June 1971. This land will be used to build the start of a New Community. But the purpose of the RNA in Mississippi *is not to buy land*; it is to create an independent nation in the hands of the people by winning sovereignty — national hegemony over *all* the land — for the people.

They demean us by saying the RNA Government is unable to achieve my release from jail when my bail is set at \$75,000. But it was the Jackson police and FBI who frightened local bondsmen into refusing to write my bond. We finally located a willing out-of-town bondsman, but he has demanded \$50,000 in “gold-plated” collateral. (We think this problem will shortly be solved.)

But We have had problems. Black people seem not to know that the RNA-11 face a multitude of charges and many trials and We very desperately need funds to be sent in to the "RNA POW Fund, 128-1/2 N. Gallatin St., Jackson, Mississippi 39201." Send all checks by certified mail, return receipt. At the same time black people need to know that money is needed to carry on that work for independence which our "young, poor" people sacrifice to pursue both in the North and the South. We need funds to help us now as, more than a year later, We again begin the interrupted efforts to build the first New Community in Mississippi.

As We earnestly need the aid of the black press, We also earnestly need and, i think, deserve the dollars of the black public. With your aid and our collective persistence, We shall together and without a doubt FREE THE LAND!

STATEMENT FOR THE LOUISVILLE RALLY

26 August 1972

Brothers and Sisters:

I am glad for the opportunity to share this moment with you—if only vicariously. For, *unity*, the theme of this rally, is as much necessary for our people today as it has ever been in our long struggle.

We gather in the year after Jackson and Wilmington, the year of Baton Rouge. We meet at a time when white violence again massively challenges a new wave of black aspiration.

I say “again” because the one most persistent element in the relations of white to black in this land since Jamestown 1619 has been the eternal presence of massive white violence and its periodic use.

If one should wonder why the blacks of Haiti were able to seize and dominate their island against Spanish and English and finally the finest of Napoleon’s troops, when a black electoral majority in South Carolina and in Mississippi after the Civil War could not prevent the crushing of our people there, the answer is massive, relentless white violence.

Perhaps nowhere else—including South Africa—at no other time in history have an oppressed people been so thoroughly policed as our people during our 350 years in North America. At *no* time. In *no* place. We do not generally recognize this.

But unlike Haiti or Brazil where the oppressing white power, in the first instance, was a minority ruling population like the whites of Rhodesia today or Kenya yesterday, the United States by contrast presented a situation in which the rulers *always* out-numbered us by at least six to one and regarded the whole country as one. Whites in America, in other words, have *always* regarded the country as a *white* country, and they have *always* used the *full* power of the united white country against the blacks.

It was not so in the beginning in Brazil or in Haiti or in Jamaica.

In the United States the fugitive slave law—a federal act drawing its very vitality from the Constitution itself—was as much a law against the black in Portland, Maine, or San Francisco as it was in Charleston. There *was* no hiding place down here. Policed on the plantation by overseers, and around the plantations by countryside patrols known as paderollers, the slave drew scarcely a breath in privacy. Escape to the woods or to the Indians was instantly pursued by paderollers and bounty hunters. Insurrection—as Cato and Gabriel and Denmark and Nat Turner learned—was met not simply by the paderollers and the state militia but by the U.S. Army and the Marines. And beyond it all—against the slave—stood the U.S. Congress and the U.S. Supreme Court.

Today—in the same hemisphere which saw brave black men no different than We seize land and power through revolutionary warfare in Haiti and, to a limited degree, in Jamaica and Palmares, Brazil, and Surinam—We blacks in the U.S. have for the most part channelled our struggle along parliamentary lines, along the lines of protest, petitions, and appeal. And We have hardly ever had to stop to think why. The answer is in our history: in the eternal omnipresence of massive white violence. Massive white violence.

We faced it during slavery. We faced it after slavery. And if conventional American history fails to teach it, *We blacks* must understand and remember that every single, tenuous Reconstruction government—governments set up after the Civil War that gave us some small voice in 11 former Confederate States—each of these governments was overthrown by *raw, naked* white violence—just plain ol' systematic murder, assault, and intimidation. Born in mid-1867, Reconstruction's delicate, doubtful life lasted less than a decade.

Brother Ben Chavis and the Commission on Racial Justice remind us, significantly, that in North Carolina—in black-majority Wilmington, to be precise—the white take-over by naked murder and intimidation did not occur until 1890. But occur it did—throughout the South. And what the U.S. Senate's Select Committee, investigating the Mississippi elections of 1875 wrote of Mississippi was true in all these areas:

The whites have, said the Committee, “secured power by fraud and force, and, if left to themselves, they will by fraud and force retain it.”

They have, since then—to say the least—been left to themselves.

What is the meaning of all this for us today? First it is to simply recognize that the pattern of white violence We have faced in Cairo, in Wilmington, in Jackson, in Baton Rouge—and in Pantherland all across black America—is the same, relentless, everywhere-present violence and policing that We faced during slavery, that We faced after slavery during Reconstruction, and that We have faced in all the years since.

It is a consortium of paderollers, white vigilantes, *and* the police *and* the militia *and* the army *and* the legislatures *and* the courts.

It is the same as it has ever been.

But our response must be different. What is the lesson of the year of Baton Rouge?

We reach for land and power. *That* is the lesson. We have no other choice. I am not sure that We ever did. But it is evident today that up or down or all around, there is no way to turn the American system to give us blacks a fit that will not kill us. We *must* be free. It is—in truth—nation-time. We must breathe our own life, go our own way, build our own institutions. We must live humanity and love and contribute no more in any way to this misbegotten misanthrope called Amerikkka. Nor submit to it.

All this being true, We know also that *never* shall We acquire this most important commodity—land—by protest or petition alone. And yet the presence of massive white violence is both a strategic and tactical problem for us. *Their* strategy is to lure us into situations where they can use that massive violence against us. They are unseemly reckless today. In Baton Rouge it turns out that not *one* of the brothers had a gun. Not one. Yet is is the brothers—not the police who did the shooting who are in jail for murder. The courts are playing *their* role.

In Mississippi, of course, *everyone* has guns in his home. There are very few fools in Mississippi today—at least, very few *black* ones. The police used that massive violence in a reckless attack upon the RNA government residence last summer and ended up, themselves, with casualties—one a fatality. It did not matter: the justification of self-defense has never been willingly allowed to blacks. We have simply been turned over to the courts so that, as it has ever been, the courts may do what the police could not.

But We are going to deliver them a few surprises. In *their* courts.

Let me conclude. Today's revolutionary skill, to match our revolu-

tionary will, to keep the revolutionary from getting killed requires of us *our unity* and the pursuit of at least four strategies for victory:

First, *We must relentlessly insist on our right to self-defense*. For, if the right to self-defense is denied to us in the South, We are disarmed, and the cowards—with their massive white violence—will again rule our people as a docile mass. Thus, the court cases are important. We must use every amount of ingenuity to force a recognition either that their Constitution is dead for themselves as well as for us—or that our rights before the law, our *human* rights, are as real as theirs. And let us—the people—remember that court cases are not won in the courts alone. In the end it is the *determined, expressed* will of the people that counts.

Second, *We must relentlessly organize to achieve economic power* through reparations and cooperative economics. And We must orchestrate toward a plebiscite, a legal statement of independence and sovereignty over land.

Third, *We must relentlessly pursue black unity and support*. Never must We allow the vanguard to be separated from the broad body of our people. Continuous effort must be made to assure understanding among our own people and their active support.

And, finally, *We must relentlessly pursue a United Nations presence*—We must have UN observers—in Mississippi and Wilmington and wherever We struggle for land and power in the South. It is essential that We bring the international community openly to our side. Today is not the 1930's. No white nation will ever again lead another people into gas chambers or ovens, or to destruction under massive violence—if—if that people remain vigilant and relentlessly pursue a strategy for victory.

I for one am certain that We as a people are equal to our necessities.

FREE THE LAND!

NOTE: This address was read at Louisville by Sister Ibidum Sundiata three months before two Southern University students were killed in Baton Rouge by Sheriff's deputies. The references to Baton Rouge in this address are to the February 1972 slaying of two black nationalists and two sheriff's deputies during a street rally in that city. But calling 1972 the "year of Baton Rouge" was almost prophetic.

A LETTER TO MISSISSIPPI'S BLACK LEADERS

August 1972

My Sisters and Brothers:

For a year now, i dare say, you have been hearing about the Republic of New Africa in Mississippi. Lately, however, most of what you have heard has probably concerned the trials which have arisen from the surprise police-FBI attack on our Government residence in Jackson last August. Naturally We are deeply concerned with achieving a successful outcome for these trials — as all black people should be. For the issue is whether in 1972 the right of a black man to self-defense against white attackers in Mississippi can be sustained in American courts.

Yet as important as this issue is, the thing which brought on the attack is equally important: the attempt of the RNA to show how black people here — and blacks who would come from elsewhere to live here — can have a life not only free from oppression but free from hunger, poverty, and sickness — a good life, free from want. Our attempt to show how such a life can be possible is what brought on the police-FBI attack. It is *their* intention to deprive our people of this hope. It is *our* intention to make sure We realize this hope.

Let me say this about the Republic of New Africa. Black people in America — like people anywhere in the world — always have had a right to self-determination. We have a right to say whether or not We wish to be American citizens. This right is particularly important to us today because when our ancestors, the slaves, were freed, they were never asked what they wanted to do about their political future. And yet they SHOULD have been asked. Instead, We had U.S. citizenship “forced” upon us by the Fourteenth Amendment. Even if We all had wanted to be U.S. citizens, the crucial thing — the

thing which makes our U.S. citizenship today legally unreal — is that We should have been asked. We should have had the right to choose. Under international law neither the Fourteenth Amendment nor any person could impose citizenship on the freed slave without asking him to choose.

In March 1968 black people from many parts of America came together in Detroit and decided they would use this right to choose which our ancestors had never been allowed to use. We chose NOT to be American citizens. We chose this because all analysis revealed that the majority of our people are on a treadmill in this country, going no place fast. As the answer to our people's problems of poverty and oppression We chose to set up an independent nation — the official black nation — and to call the black nation "the Republic of New Africa." We then created basic law and elected a provisional Government — a government being people to run the nation.

The only problem was that the nation had no independent land. We knew where the land was that belonged to black people; it was Mississippi and Louisiana and South Carolina, land where We had almost always been in the majority and where We had worked the soil and built our homes and buried our families and struggled to stay. But that land was — and is — under control of the United States.

The Government of the black nation, the Republic of New Africa, decided to go about freeing this land in two ways. First, We are attempting to negotiate with the United States government for cession of the land. But, second — and this is the more important way — We are bringing the issue of independence to the people who are living on the land, to you, and asking you to decide whether you wish to continue as oppressed wards of the United States or declare yourself free. To declare for freedom and independence would establish this area as the heartland of the black nation, a place where all of us who want independence, from all over America, can come and be welcomed by you. All the work of the RNA Government so far has been designed to introduce the idea and advantages of independence to the people of Mississippi. Our work has been to bring New Africa to you and have you embrace New Africa to your heart, give LIFE to the black nation — for only We on the land can do this. Our work has been to get you to help write New Africa's law, build New Africa's institutions, and elect New Africa's officers. For New Africa is the black nation, and for the nation to truly live, all of us must be involved — especially the people on the land.

Certainly We know that all black people in America — no matter where We live — have always made up a black nation in the midst of this country. We simply have never had a government before, or independent land. Those who declared independence and created the provisional RNA Government in 1968 were taking the first steps to make us a nation for real — independent and powerful. But the nation — the Republic of New Africa — does not belong only to those who met in 1968. It belongs to the people, to all of us. The present Government of the Republic merely serves us now until We — all of us together — choose a new Government. But it IS a Government; it is not, as white people say, “an organization.” Workers like me make up the Government. “Republic of New Africa” is the name of the black nation itself.

Today our work is at a crucial point. Over the next several months the RNA Government is going to be emphasizing an important and fundamental truth. That truth is that the Government of New Africa DOES have a feasible plan and a timetable for establishing a good life for all black people in Mississippi. We consider it most important that Mississippi leaders like you understand this work. We sincerely hope you will join in it.

I am well aware that We are striking out for independence here at a moment when many black leaders are preparing to help elect a U.S. president. Permit me to suggest, however, that nothing offered by that exercise can or will change the basic condition of our people here; indeed, nothing offered by the U.S. system, as presently constituted, can or will change our basic condition to any extent like, or as soon as, New Africa can. If the U.S. could change our condition, We would not continue to suffer the poverty, the powerlessness, and the terror We suffer here today in 1972, 104 years after the Fourteenth Amendment. The real point is that New Africa, INDEPENDENCE, can give us the things We need as a people more swiftly, better, and sooner than any other course.

But whether or not you are now convinced of the efficacy of independence, i would hope that you would join us in beginning to put together a new economic foundation for blacks in Mississippi. This is a foundation which will benefit us best if We are independent but can serve us, to an extent, even if We are not. I am talking about support of the RNA's reparations demand, our “Anti-Depression Program” which is now before Congress. For you to support us in this over the next several months does not mean giving up your present commitments or involvements. It does mean that you will

join in an important battle for a new economic lease for black people here and elsewhere.

Already, acting in this spirit, the state convention of the Loyalist Democratic Party in June adopted the Anti-Depression Program as part of its State Platform.

The RNA Anti-Depression Program, our reparations demand, calls for the building of hundreds of New Communities, fine housing, industry, community farms, and health centers, and a direct cash payment to families — all under black community direction and control. The RNA Government will hold a Reparations Election, hopefully this year, so that black people may vote yes or no on this plan. WE CANNOT, OF COURSE, ACTUALLY RECEIVE REPARATIONS FROM THE UNITED STATES SIMPLY BY VOTING “YES” IN AN ELECTION, but the Reparations Election is now our next important step. Without it — without the people saying yes — the United States Congress will do nothing.

The Reparations Election will also elect Reparations Commissioners — in fact, a state Congress of Reparations Commissioners, composed of our neighbors whom We shall choose. They will join with similar Commissioners elected in other areas of the United States, in a national Congress of Reparations Commissioners, to carry on the struggle for reparations. These Commissioners, whom We elect — and who should come from your ranks — will also help work out the details of economic development. The Commissioners will recommend what industries should be built, where they should be located, and similar important matters.

But a further vital benefit from the Reparations Election is that the Election is a way in which black Mississippians can say to other blacks all over America that We deserve their dollar support. We deserve their dollars to help us carry out our economic plans — plans which rightfully should be paid for by reparations but for which reparations are not yet available.

Supported by such a demand, New Africans in many cities around the country will be able to collect for us those needed reparations-substituting dollars. They will do this by selling five-dollar memberships in New Africa's *Society for Development of New Communities, Inc.* The Reparations Commissioners will then help guide us in the use of reparations (when reparations are finally won). What all this means is that even while We are waging the battle for Reparations, We will use the national structure of the Government of New Africa to collect development funds from blacks all over America who wish

to help us. We will not have to wait until We collect reparations before We start real economic development.

Natrually, We in the RNA Government hope that sometime soon after the Reparations Election, black people here would choose to hold a plebiscite — a freedom vote — and that in that plebiscite We would choose to be independent.

Independence, after all, would enable us to pursue economic development without interference. It would enable us to engage in world trade for our own benefit as a people, to align with and help (and be helped by) our brothers in the Carribean, notably Guyana and Surinam, and in Africa and to negotiate, as We see fit, long-term, low-interest and no-interest development loans and industrial credits from friendly countries. This is totally unlike the way We must now beg — usually with poor results — for U.S. government grants or white industry to come to the state.

Independence would allow us to make use of inspired, talented, and well trained black people, for the benefit of black people, whereas now they give their talents to our oppressor. Independent and wise, We would be able to improve for ourselves our health, our schooling, our nutrition. And our example would soon spread the black nation throughout the five-state national territory. Independence! But that is the second step.

The first step is the Reparations Election — really, the unfolding of our economic plans. And what are these economic plans? What is the Government of the Republic of New Africa talking about?

We are talking about new housing for every family that now needs it. We are talking about beef and milk and green vegetables and eggs for everyone, in abundance. We are talking about new industry spread across our territory, producing processed woods, concrete, steel bars and aluminum tubing, glass and tiles and plastics, electronic components and sea-going ships. We are talking about several billions dollars. The language of nations.

We have calculated that for each New Community of 500 families, started on 2,500 acres of vacant land in Mississippi, the sum of seven-and-half million dollars is needed. With that sum all the farmland and equipment could be had, all the housing, all the classrooms, health facilities, child-care and recreation centers, communications facilities, and a factory.

From our own pockets, at five-dollars per family, just half the black families in America could start three such communities every

month. This would begin that slow, careful growth of new housing and industry — of the good life — across our territory that New Africa promises. Even before We collect reparations.

Formally the name of our economic system is *New African Ujamaa*. This is like the cooperative system, except that it is the co-op with a difference. In the co-ops already organized in the South, the members of the co-op (say, a rise-growing co-op) own the land and the equipment and the crop together. They work together, they reap together, they sell together, and they share the profits (or the debt) together. Under New African Ujamaa the same thing happens — except that it happens for everything in the economy: food, housing, industry, health services; and except that goods are raised and produced not just for sale to others but — especially — to fill the needs of the people.

Let us, finally, take one example. Let us look at housing. Under New African Ujamaa no family pays mortgage or rent, but every family owns its own home. We reason that people in a community need food and housing just as they need water or roads; and food and housing must be provided the same way: as a community responsibility, just as the community provides schools or water or roads.

Every New Community owns its own housing factory. Such a factory would cost about \$800,000. To bring new housing to a half-million black people in the 18 black counties lying along the Mississippi River from Memphis to Louisiana, the Kush District — that is, 100,000 new homes — the Government of New Africa thinks in terms of building perhaps 18 such housing factories, one for every county. The cost would be approximately 14.5-million dollars. The material for each new home would be valued at approximately \$5,400 or 540-million dollars for all 100,000 new homes. Thus, We are talking about 555-million dollars — a half-billion dollars — for the entire project.

But, of course, ramifications of the housing effort are splendid for over-all economic development. As i have said, each New Community would have an industrial plant. This means some 18 industrial plants, valued at 1.3-million dollars each, a total of 23.4-million dollars. Here would be produced the processed woods, the tiles, the concrete, glass, plastics, wire, generators, electronic items, tubing, fittings and steel bars needed not only in housing but in production of consumer goods.

Thus, the cost of materials for fine housing would be held down, and production in general would thrive. As in the co-op, everyone would work to produce the goods needed by the nation, by the people, and these goods would be distributed in the nation — to the people — according to need, wiping out poverty and hunger. And production would always be organized to create a surplus, for sale outside of the nation. And there is much more.

It is true, of course, that most of this could be done without independence. But it could not be done with the breadth and efficiency and advantages that would be possible through independence and international trade under our own control.

What i am saying, my brothers and sisters, is that New Africa really is our best hope as a people for well-being and freedom. Whether you agree in full with independence, i am asking you to help us through this first-step of the next several months. I am asking you to help us offer to our people, through the Reparations Election, our one real hope to end poverty and oppression — independent or not.

FREE THE LAND!

IMARI ABUBAKARI OBADELE, I
Hinds County Jail

NOTE. The first Reparations Election was held in nearly 30 Mississippi Counties on Saturday and Sunday, March 9 and 10, 1974, in conjunction with the election of the Mississippi Black Assembly. Rather than a *mass* vote, the March election was a *sample* vote, involving less than 5,000 ballots, but taken across a wide cross-section of the population, in churches, on street-corners, door-to-door, and in bars. An Election Commission of Black Political Scientists, under Professor George Mitchell of Jackson State College, conducted the election. The reparations proposals — i.e., The Anti-Depression Program, and the 20-community New Community Pilot Project, and authority for a state-wide cooperative — carried overwhelmingly, and Brother Imari was elected president of the Assembly with a strong vote.

THE TWENTY-COMMUNITY

NEW COMMUNITY PILOT PROJECT

Testimony Sent to the Ad Hoc Committee,
Meeting in Mississippi, Under Chairmanship
of U.S. Representative Ronald Dellums

4 August 1972

It has to be apparent that what William Waller — the “New South” governor of the “new” Mississippi — represents is more of the same old black repression and a continuation of the same old campaign of black genocide.

The campaign of genocide against blacks can hardly be more expressive than this animal’s blatant attempts — twice in two months in two different areas — to deny to groups of poor black people the means to good health.

The ominous success of this campaign of genocide can, of course, be read in the tragic health figures of this state and particularly in the scandal represented by the widespread absence of adequate diet and pre-natal care for black mothers and all that this has meant — and all that it portends — for the future of black people here.

Indirect but equally devastating detriments of this campaign of genocide are to be found in the fact that in the last decade no less than 100,000 blacks left the state of Mississippi. It may be inferred that among this host were included some of those with most to contribute. But this statistic is not to be read alone. It must be read against the fact that 107 years ago, at the end of the Civil War, Mississippi was one of three states — Louisiana and South Carolina being the others — in which people were an absolute numerical majority. At that time, in a total state population of less than one million, blacks outnumbered whites by nearly 100,000 souls. The

clear inference, drawn against an unbiased reading of the history of Mississippi, is that this continuing, century-old campaign of genocide does not derive its driving force from some irrational hatred of whites for blacks. It is, rather, politically motored and has a political objective.

That objective is to retain that control over this state's resources (including its manpower) which fraud and violence gave to a clique of white racists in 1875. The situation is that simple.

The crisis of the Medical Centers is in microcosm the present crisis of our political existence — nay, our *very* existence — in Mississippi. If the centers are to survive, the political milieu in which they operate must be altered. And what is true of the centers is true of our life here in general. This is so because in Mississippi the Confederacy remains in control, and — whether represented by Eastland or Waller, men separated in age by a full generation — the Confederacy remains unrepentant and, worse, bereft of any symptom suggesting a future change for the better.

Thus, the program for political independence — a severing of ties with the Confederacy and the construction of Mississippi's black counties into an independent nation, into a free and prosperous New Africa — has received a hospitable audience here. For, the ultimate issue of the Centers is the present, ultimate issue of our very lives here: the issue of political control.

What then, may Congress do as blacks in Mississippi debate the fundamental issue, political independence?

1. First, Congress — and individual Congressmen — must help to create that atmosphere of respect for the First Amendment in Mississippi which will *permit* the carrying on of this pregnant and vital debate, without fear of duress. Let us be perfectly clear: there is a need for Congress and for Congressmen to support forthrightly and in public the right of blacks to hold a peaceful plebiscite for land and independence. It must be understood that this is no frivolous projection. The land mass of twenty-five black counties lying along the Mississippi River from Memphis to the Louisiana border — and not including Hinds — counts over 15,000 square miles. This makes a nation nearly *twice* the size of Israel and three-times larger than Cyprus, Gambia, Jamaica, or Lebanon. It is larger than Albania, Haiti, or Taiwan. But if the area were as tiny as Monaco, we would still be entitled to open support of our free debate and our right to hold a plebiscite.

2. Second, the U.S. Congress and individual Congressmen must seek an alteration of U.S. law to make it possible, even without

independence, for black people to create not only cooperatively owned medical centers but cooperatively owned — *community-owned* — farms and industry, all funded by money that comes *directly* to the cooperative units. The three bills requested by the RNA Anti-Depression Program address this situation perfectly. Reparations (with cooperative ownership) are the key: for reparations are due us, and reparations must be paid without strings. Short of full enactment of the *Anti-Depression Program*, it remains possible (theoretically) to achieve a portion of our goals by specific amendment of the Neighborhood Facilities title of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 and of the Urban Growth and New Community Act of 1970.

Obviously what is needed in both instances is the approval of funds and guarantees, under these acts — on the basic principle of reparations: direct and without strings — for cooperative development agencies created by blacks. Needless to say, the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Africa is prepared to assist in working out the details of such amendments.

We would, however, call attention to New Africa's plan to hold a Reparations Elections throughout the black counties, the Kush District. One result of this would be the grassroots election of a Congress of Reparations Commissioners. This would be a body to conceive and direct comprehensive economic planning and development for the area. We suggest that this Congress would constitute the logical public body toward which the Amendment of the cited acts might be directed.

Since the crisis has surfaced here — it exists elsewhere in the Deep South — let us even talk in terms of a pilot project for Mississippi. But let us talk in terms of dollar amounts that *really* give us a chance and not just false hope. Grants and guarantees — to provide us a chance for a beginning in Mississippi's black counties — must total no less than 200-million dollars. But with this sum as a beginning, We could pilot 20 new, cooperative communities across the black counties and begin, not only for the Medical Centers but for our total way of life, that long-overdue and very necessary escape from control of the Confederacy.

FREE THE LAND!

ADDRESS TO NATIONAL BLACK POLITICAL ASSEMBLY

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

FROM HINDS COUNTY JAIL, 21 OCTOBER 1972

Power and Peace, Brothers and Sisters:

And Congratulations for proving this is a continuing body!

Again i must apologize for not being with you personally. The fact that We have not yet been able to close hard arrangements with any bondsman for my release, despite our having \$50,000 in sound collateral, is one measure of that high-pressure *secret war* that the FBI and the state of Mississippi are waging against the Republic of New Africa. The sentencing of several of our leaders and workers to lengthy prison terms in Florida and Mississippi in recent months and the attacks on our lives are further indicies.

We are here today, again, to call you to battle with us on what is still an unglamorous and practionally unknown front. Here in Mississippi, observing the focus of our people on the great United States cities where most of us now live—or, rather, *survive*—We cannot help but feel that the work We are doing here, despite its great value to our *total* struggle, is viewed by most of our people as a sort of after-thought. We cannot help but feel, so often, that no deep thought and little care is turned in our direction.

We think—i think—We are a resourceful enough people to do everything We must do *both* in the North and in the South. Certainly We in Mississippi do not demean or under-estimate the value of our struggle for unity and progress, *for nationhood*, in the great cities of the North. Yet if We continue to neglect the struggle in the South, to give short shrift to the movement for independent land here, blacks as a people will be like foolish farmers who constantly repaired their

huge creatking barns, full of the grain of today, but gave no thought to plowing and tending their fields for the harvest of tomorrow.

To you, as sophisticated black men and women, it should make no difference that our struggle in Mississippi is not yet reported in *Time* and *Life* and *Ebony* magazines. The struggle for independent land is no less real, for all that. For all that, the provisional government of the Republic of New Africa continues to press onward toward a plebiscite, an independence vote.

Understand what is at stake. Though 100 years ago blacks had an absolute numerical majority in South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana, today that majority no longer exists in *any* of these states. The clue, of course, is the merciless repression We suffered here and our consequent flight north and west to escape genocide. Today, however, only in Mississippi do We still live as a majority on a rich contiguous area, a land mass large enough to support a nation of many millions. That area is the *Kush District*—some 25 counties lying along the Mississippi River from Memphis to the Louisiana border. This is a territory of over 15,000 square miles—*twice* as large as Israel. Do not forget it. This is a territory dominating the east bank of a mighty river, giving us access not only to the sea—but to the islands of the Carribean and to Guyana and Surinam in South America, the great potential of these lands now in the hands of blacks. *Never* forget this.

So We come before you again: now to ask a firm, *un-diluted* statement of support for our struggle here. Give to us, your brothers and sisters locked in a struggle in Mississippi vital to us all, what you have given to our brothers in Guinea and Mozambique and Namibia and Angola and Azania and Zimbabwe. For no less than they have We boldly shed the nationality of our colonizer and gone to contest for independent land. Give to us a *clear* statement of your support for our right to begin now to build New Communities—under a ujamaa principle that provides collective ownership of industry and fine housing without mortgage or rent—funded under the principle of reparations.

With respect to this last matter, New Communities and reparations, We as a people must be aware that whether McGovern or Nixon is president of the United States on January 22, there will be a major re-allocation of United States government spending priorities over the next three years. If We as a people are ever to collect our just reparations, We must start now; in no other way can We assure that the coming re-allocation will be at least partially on our terms.

No one should be upset because the RNA has placed a reparations demand on Congress for 300-billion dollars, most of it to be used in building New Communities. The final figure for reparations and its final use will be agreed upon by all of us together. What the RNA *Anti-Depression* bills at Congress do is to get us in the door on time.

For, We must understand that United States pre-eminence as the most independent and wealthiest nation in the world is over. Neither German nor Japanese bankers are content to hold millions of non-convertible U.S. dollars in their central banks as an endless favor to the U.S. And with the cut-throat attack openly being led by the United States upon the Japanese yen and the favorable Japanese balance of trade, you may be sure that the Japanese will eventually respond with those instruments most readily at hand, including the U.S. dollar. In short, those same next three years during which the United States will be re-allocating billions of dollars away from the Vietnam War, will mark the last time when this heretofore independently rich nation *will feel able* to pay *any* real reparations to us.

Thus, We of the RNA call upon the National Black Assembly to support actively the 300-billion dollar reparations bill, the *Anti-Depression Program*, now in the hands of our Congressmen — even as We together continue to debate the actual amount and its uses. This support must move in two directions simultaneously. Above all, the support of black people all over America for “reparations now” must be made visible and vocal; this is most important. At the same time We must generate a new class of supporters among whites in the North so that We may create in the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives that *coalition-of-convenience* which will carry our bills through. The old civil rights coalition is dead.

In the meantime, from Mississippi, in advance of our success in the struggle for the reparations bills, We are fashioning a pilot project — a program to build the equivalent of 20 New Communities, most in the Kush District of Mississippi, at a cost of 200-million dollars. Initially, with the reparations principle in mind, We are gearing this cooperative project to come under the United States’ New Communities Act: under this act the U.S. merely *guarantees* the 200-million dollars. However, our pilot project is not going to wait for approval under that act if it is not readily forthcoming. There are nations in North Africa and the Far East rich enough today — and willing enough — to lend us this relatively small amount needed for this project of 20 New Communities. Moreover, as Imamu Baraka has recently reminded us, We ourselves are not without resources.

It is essential that We grasp the impact of building 20 new, ujamaa communities throughout the Kush District. Those who are familiar with the RNA model know that *each* community builds first a housing plant. (And despite what you may have read, the mass production of housing on a factory basis is *not* a failed-dream.) In addition the outlay for each community includes 1.3-million dollars for an industrial plant owned by the community. When you consider that the community housing factory will also build some industrial structures, and when you consider that ujamaa economics calls for the use of extensive community labor — at the same time that this “human capital” is up-graded through work and training — one can begin to see that the 1.3-million dollar industrial outlay goes much further in the proposed ujamaa community than it would in the general economy.

Thus, our pilot project — constructing the equivalent of 20 New Communities — will give the black nation the slim but viable beginning of an essential modern infra-structure. For the plants that We shall build will be for cement, chemicals, electronics, steel re-cycling and processing, wood and paper products, glass, plastics, and land, sea and air vehicles. Moreover, every community is programmed to use over 300-thousand dollars for communications equipment — which means the opening of a real black television network.

We submit that there is no way — except through cooperative ownership and massive funding on an independent land mass — for the black nation to leap, as We must, onto the world stage as a people with a real hope for generating and controlling progressive wealth. In short, there is no other practical way for us as a people to come into ownership of a meaningful network of industrial plants and a modern communications net.

May We further suggest that the proposed RNA 200-million dollar pilot project in Mississippi is a preview of the Anti-Depression Program, the Reparations bills. The 20 New Communities will draw again into Kush many gifted and potentially talented young people who have fled Mississippi. These communities will begin to absorb, in a small way, our unemployed and our aspiring but frustrated people from deteriorating black communities all over America and re-vitalize them in a bright new life. This, then, is a *black* anti-depression program — our *own* way to take our people off welfare and off the unemployment roles.

Now then, what does the Republic of New Africa ask of this Assembly? It is, above all, that We be wise farmers: not only

repairing our "barns-of-the-present" in the cities, but tending our "fields-for-tomorrow" in Mississippi. Specifically, We call for your un-diluted endorsement of these resolutions:

1. *Resolved* that the Black Assembly of the NBPC supports the right of the provisional government of the Republic of New Africa to organize plebiscites for reparations, land, and independence in the Deep South, and demands that the United States and its political subdivisions cease interference with the lawful activities of the Republic of New Africa in organizing said plebiscites.

2. *Resolved* that the Black Assembly of the NBPC supports the effort of black people in Mississippi to build a pilot project of 20 New Communities, at a cost of approximately 200-million dollars guaranteed by the United States' Urban Growth and New Community Act, and calls upon the United States government to accept this project on a basis of black cooperative ownership of industry and the principle of reparations.

3. *Resolved* that the Black Assembly of the NBPC supports the RNA Anti-Depression Program in principle, subject to definitive black discussion, and calls upon blacks everywhere to support the principle of "reparations now" and upon the U.S. Congress to begin favorable action.

4. *Resolved* that the Black Assembly of the NBPC calls upon the United States government and the states of Florida and Mississippi to cease prosecution of and release from jail the RNA-11 and the Miami-two on humanitarian grounds and because they are duly proclaimed citizens of a separate nation and officials of a separate — though subjugated — government and therefore entitled to immunity from such jailing and prosecution.

5. *Resolved* that the Black Assembly of the NBPC supports in principle the establishment of national and local "George Jackson-Rap Brown Committees" to review the history of black prisoners and recommend those who should be paroled to the black community.

FREE THE LAND!

SOLZHENITSYN, KRISTOL & A BLACK NATION

ON THE GULF COAST

A Letter to Editors of the *Wall Street Journal*

Your "Review and Outlook" editorial of 6 September 1972 celebrates Alexander Solzhenitsyn's 1970 Nobel Prize lecture and ends with this reflection on the Russian's lessons to us: "But before they can be communicated there must be a willingness to listen and a willingness to understand what is heard."

I am a black freedom fighter and, as might be considered inevitable at this stage of our struggle, i am writing from a Hinds County jail cell. For thirteen months now i and most of the "RNA-11" have been confined here and at Parchman Prison farm. Court records will show as a matter beyond dispute that on the early morning of 18 August 1971 a task force of about forty policemen and F.B.I. agents converged on the sleeping RNA residence in Jackson. They gave the occupants 75 seconds to come out, and then, without a single show of hostility from the house, opened fire with tear gas guns, followed by shotgun and pistol fire from all sides.

When the firing was over, 20 minutes later, a Jackson policeman was dead and an F.B.I. agent and a policeman wounded. Miraculously the two women and five young men in the house escaped injury by repairing to an escape tunnel under the house. Simultaneously, however, police and F.B.I. agents appeared at the RNA office some blocks away and arrested myself, the Minister of Infor-

mation (a woman), and two other male citizens. The raiders said they were trying to serve an F.B.I. flight warrant. The man they sought was at neither the residence nor the office; days afterwards he was arrested in Memphis.

All of us were originally charged with murder and waging war against the state of Mississippi. Two of our brothers have already been sentenced to life in prison, under predictable conditions of white racist "justice."

I am convinced — along with many persons here organized as "The Black Mississippians for Justice" under the co-chairmanship of Dr. William Miller and Dr. Aaron Shirley — that the warrant was a pretext; the real purpose of the attack was to assassinate the leaders of the RNA in Mississippi. The circumstances support no other conclusion. Why are We a target? It is because as the Provisional Government of the landless black nation in America We are preparing the western third of this state — the 15,000-square mile, blackbelt Kush District — for a plebiscite, a popular vote to determine whether the people and the land here shall become New African or remain under U.S. jurisdiction. It is because, when that vote is finally held, New Africa shall win — as incredible as this may seem today in New York, or in Dallas.

So, what has all this to do with Alexander Solzhenitsyn or the Wall Street Journal's admonition that "there must be a willingness to listen and a willingness to understand what is heard"? A great deal. It has also to do with Irving Kristol's extraordinary apologia (WSJ, 14 September 1972) for Jews who are copping out of the struggle for justice, and with the Journal's advocacy of federally supplied methadone.

But, first, though i am neither Russian nor Nobel Laureate, i call upon you and your readers to listen and to understand what is heard. It is in the name of humanity in general and survival (certainly ours, perhaps yours) here at "home" that i make this call.

Mr. Kristol complains that "there are no more Norman Thomases or Leon Blums or Hugh Gaitskills in this new movement. Only Maos and Che Guevaras and Eldridge Cleavers — men for whom socialism is necessarily totalitarian." Well, Mr. Kristol is wrong. Let me say that for what these men whom he denigrates have meant to the masses of humanity i honor them and would gladly share their company. But there *are* others, Mr. Kristol: men and women whose commitment to and love of human dignity and freedom and the genuine humanism are no less grand and no less strong than the Thomases or the Blums

or the Gaitskills. In America the New Africans are numbered among these. Yes, there are others, Mr. Kristol — you have simply refused to see us or hear us.

Mr. Solzhenitsyn We too celebrate — if not for the soundness of all his concepts, above all for his transcending display of that indomitability of the human spirit which, lighting us like fortuitous torches through the ages of intolerance and inhumanity, comes anew as reassurance that mankind really shall overcome.

And yet, even as hyperbole or simplification, the words of Mr. Solzhenitsyn leave me with bitter cold chills of incredulity when he writes that before the age of mass communication and easy travel “men, relying on experience *ruled without mishap* within their limited areas, within their communities, within their societies, and finally on their national territories.”

It was never really so. Not for very long. Not in Rurik’s Russia or Henry the Eighth’s England, not even in Askia’s Africa, or Sheba’s Arabia, or Kirshna’s India or Hsia’s China.

The further truth is that nearly for all time that We can trace man back as man, in *each* community he has had a basic core of social beliefs and practices, a system of agreement as to what was good or bad, right or wrong, that had arisen out of the cooperative requirements of human development (despite Ardrey) and which in its essentials *was the same from community to community*.

The inheritance of this fact is found today in the existence of a *community* of values between those parts of the world which We may identify as Christian, Moslem, Buddhist, and Jewish (this is most of the world): the *value systems* of these communities agree that it is good to love one’s brothers and sisters and to share one’s goods and one’s self with the community and that the reverse of this is bad. Indeed, even the two-fifths of the world which is Marxist-Leninist-Maoist share this essential community of belief. This is to say, Mr. Solzhenitsyn, that mankind — mankind everywhere — really does have an essential common standard for judging the acts of man.

From this point of view We see immediately, however, that the problem is that *some* men in the world — and lately, perhaps because of increased communications and literacy, an increasingly large number of men — actually live by another standard. But that standard, too, is a *common* standard. Whether in communist Moscow or capitalist New York, that standard is the same — that it is good to amass all the goods and leisure one can for oneself, and good to gain advantage from the weakness or ignorance of the next fellow — and that the reverse of this is bad.

If, Mr. Solzhenitsyn, the individual human being is no longer able "to perceive and accept a general scale of values," the fault lies not in any multiplicity of scales of values. For the values are the same — albeit, *two* scales of values — for virtually every human being. What confuses and distresses the individual human being, first, is the disappointment of observing persons *within* the community who do not live by the dominant values of Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Judaism, or socialism, but live instead by that other set of values. It is that today many more people *know* that there are two sets of values accepted in the world. The difference is that before our age of mass electorates and mass participation in government and economics, the *number* of persons living by that other scale of values was always small — royalty, nobility, clergy, and merchant princes — and their aberration tolerated or, more often, unknown. It is not so today.

Second, what distresses and confuses the individual human being is not (again) a multiplicity of standards. Rather, a high level of intelligence and keen observation among a large (but still a minority) of individual human beings make these human beings persistently see *all* mankind everywhere as part of one family. They cannot accept the myths behind which otherwise good Christian, Muslim, Buddhist, Jewish, and socialist leaders carry out atrocities — against other human beings — in the name of and through the political machinery of their nation or race.

We all know that good Christians, Muslims, Buddhists, Jews and socialists oppose murder of brethren. Thus, before Jew murders Christian; or Muslim, socialist; or Buddhist, Jew, each must *socially construct* the other as *not a brother*.

In America the atrocities against the blacks were carried out after (and in accompaniment) with a campaign of black de-humanization: if the white man was created a little below the angels, the black man, the son of Ham, was created a little above the gorillas. We are to tolerate napalm and destruction of the Vietnamese and their land because the Vietnamese are not only brown (and, therefore, inferior) but communists and, therefore, a plague to be sanitized.

If Mr. Kristol is now to justify a Jewish desertion of and war against the blacks in the struggle for freedom in America, he must first construct that there are no more good blacks (or socialists).

The turmoil in the souls of enlightened people of our age (and it is only here, i submit, that the turmoil exists) arises not because men "judge stubbornly, confidently, only according to their own scales of values," for there are only two fundamental scales the world over;

but it arises, first, because more people today *know* We live by two scales and, second, some men, knowing this, simply will not accept the duplicity of one standard within my nation, my race, and another standard outside, which sanctions atrocities in Vietnam, in Jackson, Mississippi, or at Munich.

* * *

What frightens me is that in America there may not be enough white persons of high intelligence and keen observation to overcome the myths which the racial/national machinery has created around the African in America in order to place us, successfully, *outside* of the American community — and make us thereby subject to ranges of atrocities.

We have to stand aghast when *no* white publication — except a Jackson underground newspaper and the movement's *Southern Patriot* — expresses disapprobation at the wanton, unprovoked armed attack upon the RNA-11.

We are impressed that *good* white people could make Lyndon Johnson abandon political life over the war in Vietnam. But that war is Mr. Nixon's war now; and whatever it was before, he is using it as an exercise — destroying an essentially helpless people — to demonstrate to Russia and China that he really is crazy enough in this day and age to use extensive American military might to achieve political objectives. And whites have shown no strength — indeed, no real disposition — to make him stop. That is frightening.

When i read in the Wall Street Journal — on the same page that celebrates Mr. Solzhenitsyn for urging men to believe in “unchanging, universal concepts of goodness and justice” — that the federal government should spend the millions earmarked for overseas heroin destruction, in methadone maintenance, it is clear that “somebody out there doesn't like me.”

It is the black community that is the primary victim of the heroin traffic, and to save white America from its secondary effects, you would fasten this self-reliance-destroying mind-annihilator ever more severely to our backs. You wouldn't do this to your own. It is possible to contemplate this for us only because — despite your celebration of Solzhenitsyn and the need for human goodness — the black man is for you socially constructed *outside* of your community and, therefore, *outside* of humanity.

Everyone knows there is another way. The de-toxification and rehabilitation — without supporting drugs — as carried out by Elijah

Muhammad and Malcolm X, have been successfully used nation-wide in Japan. In America to extend such methods across the black nation in a similar fashion it is necessary for us to have strong communities under black control. Indeed, it is necessary for us to have an independent nation.

Here in Mississippi the initial area We seek is some 15,000 square miles, nearly twice the size of Israel. Some 500,000 persons live on this land, well over half of them black. On an area smaller and less fertile than this the Dutch support 13-million people; the Belgians, ten million. In an area smaller than the state of Mississippi, the East Germans support 17-million people, and the South Koreans, 32-million.

Because of our heritage in slavery — especially the failure of our people to receive land or funds or a free, informed choice as to our political future after emancipation — We, the New Africans, hold that We are entitled to land and reparations to establish an independent nation. We think We can sustain this in law. In the meantime We have asked the Congressional Black Caucus to assist us in finding the votes in Congress that will assure the peaceful acceptance by the United States of the results of plebiscites in the Deep South. But the understanding and aid of the American business community is needed too. Indeed, it is essential.

Independence for that section of the black community which wants it is a better solution than methadone maintenance. It is a better situation than “social dynamite” in your inner cities, forever tempting you toward a *Final Solution*. It is better than fear and inner turmoil over bussing and scattered low-income housing.

We think ten-million blacks would leave the U.S. voluntarily for a prosperous, independent New African nation in the South. The difference in your major cities would be astounding.

And the difference for us blacks would be as the giving of life to figurines of clay. Today, in America, despite irrepressible genius and training and the trappings of political office here and there, We do not share the power of the general community, and, therefore, We are almost powerless over our own community; We cannot live as men. This is unbearable. It is unacceptable. We will be free—and alive. But the way should be as honorable and as friendly as the parting of the Philippines a quarter of a century ago.

Yet it must be obvious that We cannot go empty-handed. The RNA *Anti-Depression Program* to be pushed in Congress, calls for 57.5-billion dollars over two years to build comprehensive New

Communities and industry. The figures may seem startling, but in a day of heftier dollars the U.S. paid 40-billion dollars for European recovery and is today committed to 24-billion for clean water alone.

In the meantime, We are seeking a pilot project for Mississippi: guarantees and grants under the New Communities Act, totalling 200-million dollars, to allow us to pilot-project ten or more such communities.

The Act has to be amended, however. We want to be able to use these funds not only to build housing, but to build housing in factories owned cooperatively by the people (and organized to avoid the celebrated problems of the module industry), and provided to the people without normal mortgage or rent. We want to use these funds to set up industry owned cooperatively by the people.

Why should American businessmen (and government) fund a "socialist" republic on the U.S. Gulf Coast? The answer is because it is a proper and good solution for a serious mutual problem. Such an act of cooperation and generosity between whites and blacks in America could arrest the polarization of the races taking place in the world and begin to move us away from that larger and larger looming prospect of earth-wide race war.

We should be supported also because the leaders of New Africa are not doctrinaire. It has to be clear that no new developing nation would willingly mortgage itself indefinitely to the multi-nationals. On the other hand in recent years many creative configurations have arisen in the world to satisfy both the need for national cooperative ownership and the need for private capital.

Above all, the question of attitude is important: that We will be independent and trade-minded is no argument for hostility between us and the U.S.; more than Japan and quite as much as Israel, New Africa has reasons for friendly relations with the U.S., so long as We are not subordinated. We would want to trade with our own people still in the U.S. and, quite likely, in the U.S. market in general. We would need to buy American plants and import American technology, no less than Russia or China. Indeed, it is possible to see at least a half-decade when the tooling up of the New African economy would redound directly to the benefit of American firms and lenders.

Shortly here in Mississippi—despite my present imprisonment—We shall "Free the Land" by plebiscite. It is our sincere hope that the American business community will not scorn this notion or refrain

from assisting us. What We propose is for the benefit of all. If you
indulge, as the Journal suggests, "a willingness to listen and a willing-
ness to understand what is said," i think you cannot help but agree.

FREE THE LAND!

Part Three

APPENDIX

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

We, the Black People in America, in consequence of arriving at a knowledge of ourselves as a people with dignity, long deprived of that knowledge; as a consequence of revolting with every decimal of our collective and individual beings against the oppression that for three hundred years has destroyed and broken and warped the bodies and minds and spirits of our people in America, in consequence of our raging desire to be free of this oppression, to destroy this oppression wherever it assaults mankind in the world, and in consequence of our inextinguishable determination to go a different way, to build a new and better world do hereby declare ourselves forever free and independent of the jurisdiction of the United States of America and the obligations which that country's unilateral decision to make our ancestors and ourselves paper-citizens placed on us.

We claim no rights from the United State of America other than those rights belonging to human beings anywhere in the world, and these include the right to damages, reparations, due us for the grievous injuries sustained by our ancestors and ourselves by reason of United States lawlessness.

Ours is a revolution against — our own oppression and that of all people in the world. And it is a revolution for a better life a better station for mankind, a surer harmony with the forces of life in the universe. We therefore, see these as the aims of our revolution:

- To free black people in America from oppression;
- To support and wage the world revolution until all people everywhere are so free;
- To build a new Society that is better than what we now know and as perfect as man can make it;
- To assure all people in the New Society maximum opportunity and equal access to that maximum;
- To promote industriousness, responsibility, scholarship, and service;
- To create conditions in which freedom of religion abounds and man's pursuit of god and/or the destiny, place, and purpose of man in the Universe will be without hindrance;
- To build a black independent nation where no sect or religious creed subverts or impedes the building of the New Society, the New State Government, or the achievement of the Aims of the Revolution as set forth in this Declaration;
- To end exploitation of man by man or his environment;

- To assure equality of rights for the sexes;
- To end color and class discrimination, while not abolishing salubrious diversity, and to promote self-respect and mutual respect among all people in the Society;
- To protect and promote the personal dignity and integrity of the individual, and his natural rights;
- To assure justice for all;
- To place the major means of production and trade in the trust of the state to assure the benefits of this earth and man's genius and labor to society and all its members, and
- To encourage and reward the individual for hard work and initiative and insight and devotion to the Revolution.

In mutual trust and great expectation, We the undersigned, for ourselves and for those who look to us but who are unable personally to fix their signatures hereto do join in this solemn Declaration of Independence, and to support this Declaration and to assure the success of our Revolution, We pledge without reservation ourselves, our talents, and all our worldly goods.

THE OATH

For the fruition of black power, for the triumph of black nationhood, i pledge to the Republic of New Africa and to the building of a better people and a better world, my total devotion, my total resources and the total power of my mortal life.

Republic of New Africa

An African Nation in the Western Hemisphere
Struggling for Complete Independence
Brother Imari Abubakari Obadele, 1
President

**Post Office Box 465
Jackson, Mississippi 39205**

THE NEW AFRICAN CREED

1. I believe in the spirituality, humanity and genius of black people, and in our new pursuit of these values.

2. I believe in the family and the community, and in the community as a family, and i will work to make this concept live.

3. I believe in the community as more important than the individual.

4. I believe in constant struggle for freedom, to end oppression and build a better world. I believe in collective struggle; in fashioning victory in concert with my brothers and sisters.

5. I believe that the fundamental reason our oppression continues is that We, as people, lack the power to control our lives.

6. I believe that the fundamental way to gain that power, and end oppression, is to build a sovereign black nation.

7. I believe that all the land in America, upon which We have lived for a long time, which We have worked and built upon, and which we have fought to stay on, is land that belongs to us as a people.

8. I believe in the Malcolm X Doctrine: that We must organize upon this land, and hold a plebiscite, to tell the world by a vote that We are free and our land independent, and that, after the vote, We must stand ready to defend ourselves, establishing the nation beyond contradiction.

9. Therefore, i pledge to struggle without cease, until We have won sovereignty. I pledge to struggle without fail until We have built a better condition than man has yet known.

10. I will give my life, if that is necessary. I will give my time, my mind, my strength and my wealth because this IS necessary.

11. I will follow my chosen leaders and help them.

12. I will love my brothers and sisters as myself.

13. I will steal nothing from a brother or sister, cheat no brother or sister, misuse no brother or sister, inform on no brother or sister and spread no gossip.

14. I will keep myself clean in body, dress and speech, knowing that i am a light set on a hill, a true representative of what We are building.

15. I will be patient and uplifting with the deaf, dumb and blind, and i will seek by word and deed to heal the black family, to bring into the Movement and into the Community mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters left by the wayside.

Now, freely and of my own will, i pledge this creed, for the sake of freedom for my people and a better world, on pain of disgrace and banishment if i prove false. For, i am no longer deaf, dumb or blind. I am -- by grace of Malcolm -- a New African.

